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VOL. XIII, No. 20.

FROM THE "WORKMAN'S PARADISE"

The New Zealand Department of Labor on The Auckland Lockout

NEW ZEALAND
DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR.
Wellington, June 3, 1903.
The Editor of The Weekly People, New York—

Dear Sir: I am sure of two things: first, that you have the interests of the working classes at heart, and secondly, that you will give us New Zealanders credit for the same desire to ameliorate the position of the hard-worked and small-paid majority of human beings. If you will permit me to say so, your dislike of the Arbitration Act in force in this colony leads you into mistakes whose origin you will at once recognize without further comment when I put side by side two items from the same page 4 of your issue of March 14, 1903: "The beautiful workings of New Zealand's compulsory arbitration law has been illustrated anew. The cabinet makers of Auckland have been locked out in consequence of a decision of the arbitration court raising their wages 1s. 3d. per hour. The manufacturers will hereafter import furniture. The economic power of capitalism over the worker thus nullifies whatever advantages the law may confer on the workers. Yet New Zealand is called 'the Workman's Paradise.' If it is that, what must a workman's life be like?"

"A recent English court decision classifying newspaper publishers as manufacturers has provoked some discussion among the tribe on this side of the blue Atlantic. Just why this should be so is not obvious. Most of the news printed in this country is manufactured. The raw material is, generally, a few facts, combined with much conjecture and a lot of analytical rot, out of which a hair-raising plot and a circulation-increasing sensation is fashioned."—etc.

Will you kindly allow me to state with authority that (a) the cabinet makers of Auckland were not locked out; (b) the manufacturers have imported less furniture by \$25,000 value than they did the previous year—the threat to do so was mere trade bluster; (c) the economic power of capitalism does not nullify the advantages conferred by law; (d) New Zealand is neither a "Workman's Paradise" nor a workman's hell.

There was no lockout because every establishment went on working, and but a minority of the men were discharged, viz., 75 out of 366. Of this seventy-five it was stated that they had been previously profitably employed at 26 cents per hour; but the furniture trade employers could not make their labour profitable at 30 cents per hour, so the men were sent away. There was no slur attempted on the workman's ability, only that he was too slow for the class of work in question. I suppose even in America it would hardly be considered right to argue by the rational and intellectual methods of "the strike" against an employer who discharged a few of his men because he could not profitably employ them. The matter was brought before the Arbitration Court to decide if the employer's conduct was a breach

of award. The grounds of complaint did not recite that an employer had no right to discharge a man; the information alleged that the employers had combined to defeat the advance of 4 cents per hour fixed as the new minimum wage rate by the court's award. It is always difficult to prove an unwritten agreement or combination, and as the employers swore that they had no agreement and had not discharged their men in a concerted manner, the court, after three days' careful investigation, declined to convict them of a breach of award. All the men discharged have since been taken on, and the rate of 30 cents per hour awarded by the court is the fixed minimum wage for two years. The Arbitration Act is only an experimental measure; it has to be amended year after year to meet new and unforeseen difficulties, and it will be amended in the coming session of Parliament to stop the little leakage shown by the above furniture makers' case. But the principle of the Arbitration Act is high above the arguments advanced by Pinkerton's detectives on one side and by starving women and babies on the other, as your anthracite coal strike proved in its final stages.

In regard to the power of capitalism nullifying the advantages acquired by law, I assure you this is far from being the case. The improvement in wages above the old rates since the Act came into force has brought the workers at least \$1,250,000 in the factories alone, not to mention that the hours of work have been shortened, more holidays given and high rates of overtime pay fixed—gains in which sailors, carters, shearsmen, miners and other workers not in factories have participated. In five years the annual wage paid (from 1895 to 1900) in factories rose from \$9,537,960 to \$15,492,805, and from 1896, the year the Arbitration Act practically began work, the number of persons then employed in factories—viz., 29,000—rose to 59,000 in 1903. The colony was never so prosperous as now. The value of its exports advanced this year by \$15,000,000 on the values of those of the previous year, and this output was from a little colony of less than 1,000,000 people, including children and Maoris. Surely the plentifulness of money, the short working hours, the increasing pay, the many holidays are advantages which have not been nullified by the power of capitalism, as your paragraph alleges.

As to New Zealand being a "Workman's Paradise," it is only such in the kind thoughts and friendly phrases of some of our visitors. Compared with many other places, this colony is certainly a center of industrial security and freedom; but it is not a place where plum puddings grow on trees. On the other hand, it is certainly not a workman's hell: if there is no more painful Gehenna awaiting your comrades than now exists in these islands they will be safe in soul as well as body. I wish the American workman no worse place of residence than "the Land of Ferns" in the South Pacific. Your faithfully,

Edw. Tregear,
Secretary of Labor.

Grand President to the effect that if the Union demanded or tried to enforce a higher scale, the Charter of No. 1 would be suspended, and the E. B. would bring men to St. Louis to fill our places. When Bro. Lochmann made the statement to the Contractors and the Chief of the Electrical Department of the World's Fair, the contractors and the management of the Fair entered into a combination called the Electrical League to carry out a certain outline and define and agreement.

The World's Fair on last Monday locked out all the members of No. 1, about 200 men. With this condition facing us, nothing remains but to declare the World's Fair and all contractors in the League unfair.

Charges have been preferred against Bro. Lochmann, and he will be tried in due form according to the constitution.

This is a notice to all union men to keep away from St. Louis until the present trouble is settled. Notice is also hereby given that should the Executive Board, the Grand President or Bro. Lochmann attempt to carry out the threats made in regard to sending men to this city to take our places, an appeal will be taken to a referendum vote of the I. B. E. W.

No. 1 never had an agreement with the World's Fair. Before the work started on the Fair No. 1 tried to make an agreement, but Mr. Rustin, chief of the Electrical Department, refused to sign one.

(Continued on Page 2.)

ELECTRICAL WORKERS. They Protest Against Their Executive Board Scabbing It on Them.

[The below is an exact copy of a circular, issued over the seal of Local No. 1, I. B. E. W., of St. Louis, and signed by the Secretary of the Executive Board of the Local. The circular was issued to all the Locals of the Organization. The original, from which the below is a copy, is in this office for inspection.]

St. Louis, June 9, 1903.
To the Local Unions of the I. B. E. W.:
Greeting—On May 1st, Local Union No. 1 presented to the Building Trades Council, of St. Louis, a demand for an increase in wages from 50 cents to 62½ cents per hour, or \$5 per day, to take effect Sept. 1st, 1903. This demand received the unanimous endorsement of the B. T. C.

The Electrical Workers were the poorest paid mechanics in the city, as plumbers are receiving 62½ cents per hour; carpenters, 55 cents per hour; plasterers, 75 cents per hour, and other trades at about the same rates.

On account of the World's Fair, rents have raised, and the cost of living has increased 50 per cent. Our demand was so fair and just that there did not appear to be any particular opposition, until Bro. F. E. Lochman, First Grand Vice-President, started to interfere, and went before the Contractors' Association, and said that he would force the Local to live up to an alleged agreement for \$4.00 per day, and also read a letter from the

WEEKLY PEOPLE

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 15, 1903

PRICE TWO CENTS

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY AGITATION

FOUR STATES LISTEN TO THE DOCTRINES OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

Philadelphia, Aug. 5.—Saturday evening, August 1, was S. L. P. night in Kensington. We had arranged to hold an open air meeting at Front and Dauphin streets. We arrived there and found our corner in possession of some gentlemen of the gospel, who agreed after some parley, to leave the corner by 9 o'clock.

In the mean time, a comrade came and reported that the "Socialist" party was to hold forth about four blocks from us. Two comrades were dispatched to make the Kangaroo's toe the scratch, the other comrades remaining behind to mount our S. L. P. battery.

The two comrades decided that there was nothing doing there, so they started back to our own meeting, and got back in time to see a wagon load of Kangs pulling into our corner.

The S. L. P. immediately went into action. Our platform was quickly erected, and a banner bearing two excellent S. L. P. mottoes was flung to the breeze.

Just then our street corner theologians as they were leaving warned the crowd to beware of the Socialists, as Christ was contented with conditions on earth as he found them. Comrade Charles Woodley was our first speaker, and he in clear language and with apt quotations from the foolishness of our amateur clergymen. Comrade A. C. Mullen, the chairman then introduced Comrade D. Rehder who, in a short well delivered speech left no doubt in the minds of the 200 workers who had gathered that the S. L. P. is the party of their class. Comrade Alexander was the next speaker, and he, in a clear, intelligent twenty minute speech, let the audience understand what Socialism means and what it don't mean.

In the meantime the Kangs had put up an apology for a speaker in the form of an inhabitant of the furnished room district, who bears the very suggestive title of Jack Frost. Frost was telling his crowd that they should pay for "Mother" Jones, and that there was a boarding house on Spring Garden street where they served pie three times per day.

Comrade Ed. Seidel was our next speaker, and his opening challenge to the Kangs to deny our charges as to their corrupt and traitorous record was roundly applauded.

Seidel then took the party's trade union attitude, and the Kangs were shown to be the side-partners of organized scabbery, in its betrayals of the working class. As Seidel cited point after point, and clinched it with documentary evidence, the crowd of workers applauded enthusiastically.

Through all these proceedings Comrade Durner and several others had been bombarding the Kangs' crowd with our leaflet "The Difference." The Kangs by this time had used up two speakers, and their platform was occupied by a little insane asylum outcast named Williams, who says they (the Kangs) are converting Hearst to "Socialism," and that Roosevelt is coming their way.

Comrade Durner began to ask questions and the Kang started to abuse Durner in an argument, with the result that when Durner started for our meeting he marched triumphantly at the head of the Kangs' audience, and that ended the Kangs' meeting.

At this point Comrade Seidel was winding up his scathing criticism of the Kangs amidst the applause of the audience. Just then the discomforted Kangs came through our crowd swearing vengeance. A Kangaroo made a rush for the platform but he was told that his turn would come when we were through.

Comrade Campbell was the next speaker. Campbell at once took the record of the "Socialist" party, beginning with Gompers' indorsement of Cantor, the Democrat who applauded Governor Fowler for breaking the ten hour strike in Buffalo in 1892, down to more recent acts of treason to the working class. He quoted the Kangaroo's platform wherein they declare these acts of treason a "noble waging of the class struggle."

Mr. Carey's \$15,000 sanitary armory was given with all that it implied. Hoboken, where Eichman ran on all the tickets he could find was explained, to the delight of the crowd.

The speaker then went on to tell how Erasmus Pellenz was expelled from the S. L. P. for accepting the position of Chief Fire Marshal of Syracuse, N. Y., and how to-day Erasmus Pellenz is an honored friend of their (the "Socialist") party.

Peekskill, N. Y., was also quoted, where the Kangs' elected an alderman by fusing with the Democrats.

Philadelphia, Aug. 5.—Saturday evening, August 1, was S. L. P. night in Kensington. We had arranged to hold an open air meeting at Front and Dauphin streets. We arrived there and found our corner in possession of some gentlemen of the gospel, who agreed after some parley, to leave the corner by 9 o'clock.

The speaker then requested the audience to listen attentively to "Socialist" party's defender.

The chairman then introduced our opponent, Mr. Sykes. He began by lamenting that we only gave him ten minutes to reply to all of our charges. We cut that short by telling him to take 20 minutes. Mr. Sykes said that he left the S. L. P. in Cornwall, N. Y., because it forbade him being an officer in a pure and simple trades union. He consumed about ten minutes in this way. Carey, he said, was justified in voting for that armory, because its unsanitary condition was a menace to the health of the city.

Sykes here began to feel that he was up against it for he stopped and wanted the S. L. P. men to ask questions, but we knew that he was trying to use up his time as he had not ventured to touch our charges against his party.

Mr. Sykes was about to close, without having mentioned our charges, when some one made a motion to extend the time ten more minutes. Motion was put to a vote of the crowd and carried. Meantime several voices in the audience had been calling upon him to disprove our statements. Sykes at last declared that he did not know anything about all this, and he wound up by saying that he believed that Comrade De Leon was a capitalist spy, and that he thought De Leon was paid to split the labor movement. With that he closed his remarks.

Our speaker only had three things to say in retort, first, that the gentleman had not replied to the charges in any way, therefore our case was proven. The crowd showed by its applause that the point was observed. The speaker then went on to show that until the year 1897 there was nothing to oppose the political enemies of the workers but the S. L. P., and if any one could be accused of splitting the working class movement it was Debs and his Social Democratic Party. Third, the speaker explained that in the cities of Massachusetts there were unsanitary leather works, shoe factories and textile mills, where women and children are undermined in health and morals, and that Carey knew this as well as anybody, yet made no move to have them repaired. The speaker, by means of strikes in the past, showed that the military was the physical aim of the employing class, and therefore Carey was a traitor when he voted for that appropriation, and a meaner and lower traitor was the man who stood by Carey and tried to justify him.

This was received with cheers by the large crowd, who had heard both sides, and had received the Kangaroo speaker in silence.

Great enthusiasm was shown for the S. L. P. All of our Weekly People's were sold, besides a large number of pamphlets (What Means This Strike). Several men came and showed us notices that they received from the "Socialists" to attend their meetings, but they declared this meeting had been an eye opener.

So this is how the fight is going. We've got them on the run, and this is only the beginning.

S. L. P. Man.

The following account of Comrade Veal's work in Teller County was forwarded by the State Executive Committee of Colorado:

Victor, Colo., July 28.—To the S. E. C., Denver, Colo.:

Dear Comrades—The press committee of Section Teller County makes the following report of the agitation carried on by Com. Phil. Veal, while in the Cripple Creek District.

Comrade Veal arrived Sunday, July 19, and departed July 27. He spoke every evening and several afternoons, and commanded a great deal of attention. His meetings were largely attended.

Veal's aggressive stand caused a great many to see their condition in its true light. He showed up the fake labor leaders in their nefarious work. This made some of their defenders squirm and protest, but they were not able to defend their position.

The interest manifested was shown by the many questions asked after each meeting, the literature sold and subscriptions taken. The complete result will not manifest itself until later on, as the S. P. here is the stronger and from their talk, the difference cannot be detected. They are not in accord with their State and national organization; they are revolutionary without question, due, no doubt, to S. L. P. literature and agitation. A

split in their ranks is inevitable and there being only one revolutionary party, the S. L. P., their agitation can in future only redound to our party, as the only revolutionary movement; so our hopes for the future are great.

The presence here of Comrade Veal has also infused new life into our Section, which was lagging greatly; but we believe some work will be done here in the future.

While speaking in Cripple Creek some of the middle class order made threats of mobbing Comrade Veal; also, the dear "City Fathers" of Victor ran the fire department down Victor avenue on a false alarm, to detract the attention of the meeting and disburse the crowd, but it proved worthless. One night a drunk crowd of four or five tried to break up our meeting, but the sympathy of the slaves for all the scourging Veal gave them and their "leaders," was with the speaker, and the drunks were lucky they did not go home with sore heads and soles.

Many of the S. P. members came up to Comrade Veal after the meetings and commented on his stand and applauded his attack on fakes and fakirs.

Comrade Veal left with the very best wishes of every member of Section Teller County.

Herbert Kempton,
Wm. Oberding,
Jno. W. Callinan,
Press Com.

Worcester, Mass., Aug. 6.—Since my last letter to The People, the rainy weather has prevented the carrying out of some of my agitation plans. I visited Milford Monday, and find it a good field to work in. A large square in the centre of the town makes it a good place to gather a crowd. We held forth to an audience of about two hundred; Hope-dale, the town of the Draper Loom, is about two miles distant, and considerable numbers of the worker live in Milford, as it is a five-cent car ride.

I took General Draper as a representative of the capitalist class, showed the workers how they were robbed under the wage system, how the more perfect machinery worked to supplant the skilled by the unskilled; where General Draper was in Europe negotiating for the sale of his looms, which would be set up in China as a means to beat down the wages of the workers here.

These points having been made so clear as to draw out applause and cries of "That's right," I then pointed out how capitalism was developing in like manner in the shoe industry. Then the only position to be taken was that of the S. L. P.; but, in order to reach the workers with this truth the capitalist stood in our way; but that did not mean that General Draper or W. L. Douglas would come out and dispute our position. No! They would have the "labor fakir" and his tools, the kangaroo "Socialists" to do that kind of dirty work, as was proven by their position in the Lynn and Haverhill shoe strike; their fusion with the Democrats and Republicans, their voting to increase the salary of Sam Gompers, etc., etc.

Comrade Cunningham came over from Medway, and assisted in the distribution of literature. After the meeting two sympathizers gave me \$2 to the organizer fund, and are going to work to gather material for a section.

Tuesday and Wednesday rain prevented any outdoor meeting. This noon, as the sky is clearing, we held a noonday meeting in front of the wire mill, with an audience of over 100. Leaflets were eagerly taken and a few books sold. I remain in Worcester until next week. We will hold meetings on the Common Sunday.

W. H. Carroll.

Minneapolis, Minn., Aug. 3.—Another interesting meeting with a large audience was held last night at the usual corner. Interesting speeches were made, several questions asked, and great interest manifested throughout. Twenty pamphlets were sold and a quantity of other literature distributed.

But the S. L. P. meeting was not the "only fun out" last night. Persons out for a "big time" found another attraction. Some kangaroos generally hold forth about one-half a block further up Nicollette avenue on Sunday nights. For yesterday they had advertised a steamboat excursion so the town was expected to be clear of them. But it appeared that the "Holy Jumpers Division" of the "Party" had "seceded" from the river trip. Anyhow, when the comrades arrived there were hosts of kangas in groups on the opposite side of the street. Our boys started and the whole crowd of listeners came over. Now we are about to describe the unexampled phe-

PROSPERITY IN PENNSYLVANIA

The Pittsburg Gazette vs. The State Report—A Lie Extinguished

"COMPARISON IS VERY FAVORABLE."

"Statistics Show Big Jump in Production, Wages and Values in This State."

"SALARIES HAVE DOUBLED."

"Industrial Report Shows Since 1896 Workers in Some Branches of Iron and Steel Industry Have Been Advanced 154.8 Per Cent."

So reads the headlines in the Pittsburg Gazette, July 22, 1903. The Leader of the Sunday following goes one better, and says ALL wages have greatly increased.

"When thou findest a lie that is oppressing thee, extinguish it." So says famous old Thomas Carlyle, adding that "Lies exist there only to be extinguished; they wait and cry earnestly for extinction." Well, this lie certainly is oppressing me and others, and heading Thomas, I will attempt the extinction, heeding further his admonition, "Think well, meanwhile, in what spirit thou wilt do it: not with hatred, with headlong, selfish violence; but in clearness of heart, with holy zeal, gently, almost with pity." I shall take my figures wholly from the article whose headlines I quote, and so escape the final caution of his when he says: "Thou wouldst not REPLACE such extinct lie by a new lie, which a new injustice of thy own were; the parent of still other lies? Whereby the latter end of that business were worse than the beginning."

The comparative figures between 1896 and 1902, made public by the report of the bureau of industrial statistics of the State of Pennsylvania, the subject which the quoted heading treats of, contains the following figures, among others. These figures show all that is wanted, and show it plainly:

	People Employed.	Salaries Received.
In 1896.....	129,240	\$49,430,808
In 1902.....	293,927	98,432,570

To look at "salaries" only, the \$49,000,000 of 1896 does double almost when it amounts to \$98,000,000 in 1902. But how about the increase of those who received these "salaries"? The Gazette knows well enough.

I don't feel wronged because the Gazette lies by insinuation in its headings, nor because it leads workmen to imagine themselves prosperous. Such workmen that have to look into the newspapers to find out whether they are prosperous are of no earthly use to the

nomena. Never did we dream of such a thing as organization among the kangaroos, and especially in the H. J. brand; but last night they "organized." Big Chief Joe, well known in Minneapolis as Joe with various epithets before it, was the leader. Speak of Mr. and his surname and your hearers will gaze; say Joe, and there is not a guy in town who is not "initiated." Well, Joe "organized" his band and came over, too, and sat quietly down on the curbstone for about five minutes. Then up he jumped and with long strides and swinging arms marched to the other side of the street, followed by the "organization." It was right then and there they were dubbed "The Holy Jumpers Division of Kangaroos." However, no sooner did they get there than they had a "split" or two, formed several groups and talked all at once. Joe sang! ? (was ever word so abused), then they jumped and all talked at once, at times Joe was called all the — that go before his name, and throughout it all so many and wonderful noises were made that pen cannot describe them. Passersby would stop, gaze, and then hurry away as if beset with fear that they had run into Bedlam. But with all that they failed in their purpose, namely, to break up the S. L. P. meeting. The noise could not but annoy the speakers; but, both they and the audience held their ground and much indignation prevailed about the abomination. At last a law and order man, this time at least, discerning his duty, found it necessary to interfere with the Holy Jumping Kangaroos. No sooner did the visage of the cop appear among them than they immediately "united" to disappear. From thence the S. L. P. meeting continued in peace.

It is amusing to see letters in The People from various places the correspondents in each laying claims to this town having the most wonderful kangaroo freak in creation. Now, whether the Minneapolis ones can be outshined or not, I leave unsaid. I have learned to believe the kangas capable of much in that line; but this I say: Any comrade

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.
Agents are personally charged with and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.

S. L. P. or any one else, except those who may employ them.

The lie oppresses because it leads the reader to think that workmen generally are better off for wages, now that we have a Republican administration, and thus hesitate to vote for what they consider their interests, should they not be staunch Republicans, for fear of interfering with this blessed prosperity.

Translated to common sense, the 129,240 got in 1896, when their \$49,430,808 wages was paid, just a little more than \$382.48 apiece, ASSUMING it to be DIVIDED EQUALLY, which amounts to a WEEKLY wage of not quite \$7.36.

In 1902 the "salaries" that got "doubled," and now amount to \$98,432,570, when divided by 293,927, the number of persons now receiving it, amounts to a little more than \$334.87 each, or less than \$6.43 per week.

A drop from \$382.48 to \$334.87 per year, or a drop from \$7.36 to \$6.43 per week, is JUST EXACTLY how the wage workers in the report of the bureau of statistics—the same wage worker that the Gazette crows over—"doubled" their "salaries."

So much for one lie—and it is a great pity that this reaches the eye of so few of those who need it so badly.

We can note that the prices of all that these prosperous persons have to buy with their \$6.43, reduced from \$7.36, has nearly doubled.

We can anticipate some objections to swallowing this bit of truth by those accustomed to swallowing taffy and sugar-coated lies only, and reply that the steady work of now does not make matters better when compared with 1896, for then the wage workers got \$7.36 per week, loaf or work, whereas now it is only \$6.43, and if you have to work more days per year to get \$334.87 than you did in 1896 to get \$382.48 you will have a hard job to make it plain to any man where the benefit comes in.

Do not squeal and tell me how many you KNOW are getting more now than then or are getting more than \$6.43 per week, for that only makes it out that still others get LESS than \$6.43 per week, unless the State report is a lie itself. Since it is put out by capitalists for the benefit of capitalists, surely they would not lie—in that direction!

Besides this, the report has it that the employees show "a gain of 57.3 per cent," and further on says the market value of the product shows "a gain of 127.3 per cent." Is increased output, for a decreased wage, expended in a dearer market, what you rejoice in as prosperity.

O. N. E. Lackall.

Pittsburg, Pa.

Cleveland, O., Picnic and Outing.

On Sunday, August 16, Section Cleveland will hold a picnic at Hahn's Grove, to which it cordially invites all local readers of The Daily and Weekly People. Hahn's Grove is an ideal place for an outing; it is beautifully situated on Lake Erie, about 12 miles west of the public square. Plenty of shade and fruit trees stud the landscape; all accommodations for a basket picnic, including benches, tables, nice lawns, etc., will be found there. For dancing and refreshments the committee in charge has made all necessary arrangements. To those who enjoy aquatic sports it may be said that Hahn's Grove has a fine bathing beach. All you have to do is to bring your "toggery" with you.

Come out in the forenoon and spend all day with the Socialists of Cleveland in green nature. Admission to grounds is free. Tickets for transportation from Rocky River bridge to the grove can be secured from party members. Take Detroit street to Rocky River, then look about for party's ticket agent, who will sell you ticket and direct you to the Lake Shore electric car (Loraine suburban), which will take you direct to Hahn's Grove.

The Committee.

S. T. & L. A. NOTICE!
The attention of district and isolated local alliances is called to Section 6 of Article IV of the constitution, providing for the nomination and election of delegates to the next national convention, to be held at Newark, N. J., on the first Monday in December. Attention is also called to Section 8 of Article VII in matter of amendments. By order of Gen. Ex. Board S. T. & L. A.

Ohio Daily People \$425 Fund.
Harry Bratburd, \$15.00; H. M. Hars-further, \$3; A. Miller, \$3; H. Stieg, \$1 W. P. Keim, 50c; total, \$9.

THE BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS

The story of the boot and shoe industry is an interesting one when told in detail, but lack of space forbids such a lengthy narrative at this time. The story here told will be told as briefly as truth will permit, and has to do with the men, methods and organization of the boot and shoe trade, which at this time numbers approximately 250,000 wage slaves engaged in the production of boots and shoes.

For nearly half a century the New England States and New York controlled the boot and shoe industry, but little by little the West has made inroads in that control, until now there are but few States that have not got their "shoe towns" with its accompaniment of shoe workers—tramp and otherwise.

Prior to the '30s the making of boots and shoes was "hand work" and was a leading occupation in Massachusetts and parts of New Hampshire and in certain cities in New York State. In those days the shoemaker worked at home, or in the old "ten-footer" of that period, where he hired "seat room." Not only did the shoemaker work at the trade, but in many instances the entire family as well. The women assisted in the fitting of the upper, which was then done by hand, and the boys did odd jobs around the shop. But that day is no more. The hand worker, with his few crude tools and "ten-footer," has passed away forever. His place has been taken by the modern shoe worker, the appendage of a highly developed tool, working in a mammoth factory, where hundreds, and in many instances thousands of "hands" are employed.

The first machine of importance which was brought into the trade was the sewing machine, the invention of Elias Howe, which was used in the fitting of the upper. Then, in the latter part of the '30s, came the McKay machine for fastening the bottoms on boots and shoes. The advent of these machines was the beginning of the revolution.

The McKay machine was the invention of a North Brookfield, Mass., shoemaker; but, like all other inventions under the capitalist system, which respects (1) private property, it was gobbled up by Gordon McKay, then a "clever," "pushing," "industrious" capitalist in embryo, who got control of this invention for a few dollars and became, as a result, a multi-millionaire.

Then came the pegging machine, which was used to peg the soles of boots and shoes. For a long time after its invention, the McKay system of fastening the soles of boots and shoes was the leading method for making "sewed work," as it was called in those days.

Next came the Goodyear turn and welt system, which put the McKay machine in the shade. With these and the standard screw machine, which was another invention gobbled up by McKay, who had by this time become wealthy, the sole-fastening department will be dropped.

The invention of the Bussell trimmer, and the heel trimmer, the Union and other edge-setting machines, the McKay and, later, the National nailer, the power buffer and power machinery for finishing bottoms, with an endless chain of machinery for stitching the uppers, completed the revolution from the hand to the machine method, until to-day there is scarcely an operation that a boot or shoe goes through but what the work is done by the machine; which, needless to say, has eliminated most of the skill required of the hand workman, who did all these parts alone.

The Civil War and the impetus which machinery gave it caused the boot and shoe industry to move to the front ranks at a rapid rate, until to-day it is the means whereby nearly 250,000 persons earn their bread and the bread of those dependent upon them; and that portion of the capitalist class who own the tools by which boots and shoes are produced wax fat and export to other lands thousands of pairs of boots and shoes, while those who produce them go about on their "uppers," constantly on the edge of poverty.

So much for the development of the industry itself. Now a few words on organization of this army of workers, past and present.

During the '50s, especially during the panic of '57, the despotism of the "shoe bosses," as they were then called, caused the founding of the first trade organization amongst the shoemakers of any importance. In 1858, following a great strike of the journeymen in Lynn, the strikers held a mass meeting in Central Square, that city, which resulted in the founding of the Journeymen Cordwainers' Association.

The cordwainers was a short-lived affair, and in the early '60s Newton Daniels, a Milford, Mass., boot treer, founded the Knights of St. Crispin, which was in its day a powerful organization for good; but, being built on the pure and simple, or British idea, while it for a time did organize those who worked at the trade, it also organized the forces of its own destruction. Dissension finally crept into its ranks, and it went out with the "crime of '73," or shortly afterward.

While the "Crispins" lived it was the strongest organization the shoemakers had had, and, for that matter, there has not been such a complete organization of the trade since. It pulled the scattered forces together and held them there for some years, raised wages and brought order out of chaos. Those were the days that the "old-time" loves to dream about and fondly hopes to see again. But he hopes in vain. Never again will the men of the pinheads and awl see times under capitalism. They will only come

when the shoemakers, organized in the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party, marching shoulder to shoulder with all the other toilers of the land, overthrow the robber system of capitalism, with its horde of ignorant, stupid and corrupt labor fakirs, who uphold the present system of robbery of the shoemakers, along with all other workers.

Then will come the glad day that the old Crispin hopes for—more than he can hope for, because it is more than he has been taught to ask for: the full product of his labor, not the "living wage" of pure and simple trade unionism, or, worse still, the scabby job that Tobin teaches him to regard as the alpha and the omega of the worker to-day.

After the Knights of St. Crispin went down the shoeworkers remained unorganized for several years, and during those years the "bosses" paid them back with compound interest for all that the Crispins had done. Wages were mercilessly cut and conditions were forced in the shops that made the life of the shoemaker a little hell. Finally, in 1879, the lasters of the City of Lynn met in that city and organized the Lasters' Protective Union of New England, which later became a national organization.

About this time the Knights of Labor came along, and between the two, the L. P. U. and the K. of L., the shoeworkers were again pulled together, but not so thoroughly as in the days of the Crispins. The lasting of boots and shoes at this time was hard work, and the L. P. U. worked with might and main and built a powerful union throughout New England and raised the wages of the lasters, which had been horribly slaughtered between '73 and '79, and last, but not least, made Edward L. Daley, now one of Tobin's lieutenants and a former appointee of Grover Cleveland, its general secretary. The L. P. U. was also the training school of another labor lieutenant, Edward F. McSweeney, who was at one time its national president.

The way the L. P. U. went about things angered the bosses, and many a stubborn strike was fought with the union usually the winner, as it controlled about all the lasters who worked at the trade, and there was no machine to do the work. This latter element, the machine, or the absence of it, to speak properly, caused the head of many a laster to swell to abnormal proportions. "You cannot get a machine to last shoes," the old-time laster would say.

But the machine came, and as a result the L. P. U. went on the rocks. It tried the impossible—it tried to prevent the introduction of one kind and all kinds of machines by keeping the members of the L. P. U. from working on them, with the inevitable result. Finally the machine companies made some sort of a compromise agreement, which had the effect of splitting the union. One set, those who had got jobs on the machines, stood for the company; the other element, who were left out, usually the fighters, were against it. This move completed the wreck of the once powerful L. P. U.

During these years the K. of L. was arriving at the end of its tether by different methods. While it once held out to the shoeworkers a hope for the future, when it was making some attempt to follow the teachings of its founder, Uriah S. Stephens, this hope soon faded, and in its place came a horde of labor skates, such as the "Father of the Labor Movement," George E. McNeil; the "Globe Trotter," Albert E. Carlton, now holding a fat political job for his treachery to the workers; Frank K. Foster, slicker fakir than whom never existed; Charles H. Litchman, who landed a political job on the strength of his position, and many others whom the writer does not call to mind at this time.

This bunch of grafters put the K. of L. on the ways, and it soon slid down and out. While it lasted it was used by every buckeye grocer and cockroach capitalist who wanted to feather his nest, plus the politicians who used it politically, until to-day all that is left hereabouts of that once powerful organization among the shoeworkers is the Cutters' Assembly, No. 3662, which is now fighting the Lynn strike against Tobin and his Boot & Shoe Workers' Union.

In 1889, Harry J. Skiffington, who had faked the K. of L. until it was no longer workable, broke away from it and started the International Boot & Shoe Workers' Union, which was a scab-furnishing agency with Skiffington as benefactor-in-chief.

There were now three national warring organizations of pure and simpliers in the field—the L. P. U., which controlled the lasters; the K. of L., and the International. Each of them had a hatred for the other, and all of them "did" the others whenever the chance was offered. Their conduct was so bad, and the rank and file of each of them suffered so much, that finally there was elected out of the three bodies a joint label committee to take charge of the three stamps then in vogue, and to make some arrangement for one label to be indorsed by them all. In short, they had fought so long that they were looking for "harmony," and the committee had it, as its business, to see that they did not get it.

Then came the great Haverhill strike of '93, which lasted for over three months, and which affected about 4,000 shoeworkers, and tied up eight of the largest shops in the city. Haverhill was the first to fall into the maw of Skiffington's International. For a long

time he and his local lieutenants ruled the roost, in the land of the "armory builder."

The International was organized in Dover, N. H., in February, 1889, and shortly after, owing to a lockout in that city, Skiffington organized Haverhill and held it until 1892, or early in 1893, when he landed a job in the Immigration Office, with headquarters in Boston. It might be well to add that it was about the same time that the same Grover Cleveland who appointed this labor fakir to this sinecure, and who also sent the federal troops to murder the Pullman strikers, appointed two others from the Lasters' Protective Union, viz., Edward F. McSweeney and Edward L. Daley, to similar positions.

But to get back on the rail again: The shoeworkers of Haverhill deserted the International shortly after "Skiff" got his job from the capitalist class. John D. Dullea, who succeeded Skiffington, was not the oleaginous blatherskite of his predecessor, and while he would have faked them as bad as as long as any of this gang had, he lacked the blarney to hold them in line, especially in the panicky year of '93. The result was that one after another the locals fell behind in their per capita tax. Dullea missed his meal tickets, because Haverhill was about all there was left of the International, the unions stood suspended, the bosses cut wages right and left, until the workers were reduced to a mere lot of coolies.

Contract systems were introduced in some of the shops to bind them. The present secretary of the Navy, Moody, who is a Haverhillian, was counsel for the firm of Chick Bros., who first introduced the contract system, and Moody was the legal light employed to turn the trick. To pay him for the suffering which he caused them, the workers after the strike of '95 rewarded him by electing him to Congress.

This was the condition of affairs when the strike took place in '95. For nearly four months of winter weather the shoeworkers battled for better conditions, only to have their strike run into the ground by an ignorant labor skate and muddlehead named Pomeroy, who was their leader. While the strike was on, Dullea, who was filled with a spirit of hate for the Haverhill shoeworkers, because of their having failed to furnish him with a living, did what he could to prevent the remaining locals of the International in Brockton and elsewhere from sending any money to Haverhill, and that put the International on the rocks forever.

The joint label committee of the International, K. of L. and the L. P. U., learning that a call was soon to come from Haverhill for a convention to "organize" the shoeworkers of the United States and Canada, took the bull by the horns and headed the move off by issuing a call themselves to the K. of L., the L. P. U. and the International, and such local bodies as desired to send delegates to a convention, to be held in Boston in April, '95, to form a national trade union of the shoeworkers of the land. One hundred and thirty-five delegates responded, and the result was the formation of the Boot Shoe Workers' Union. This move put the International, the L. P. U. and the K. of L., except H. A. 3662 (Cutters' Assembly of Lynn), out of business.

When the Boot & Shoe Workers' Union was organized it was an honest attempt on the part of the workers to better their conditions. But honest attempts minus knowledge of class interests avail nothing but more trouble.

The shoeworkers were tired of the gang of sharks who had lived on them so long, and they refused to place them in control again. There were present as delegates a large number of S. L. P. men who were then going through the muddled-headed period of "boring from within." They wanted a Socialist at the head of the new union.

James F. Carey, then a member of the S. L. P., now an armory building kangaroo, was the man slated to wear the mantle, but he refused and told the writer that he would have none of it, that it was a pure and simple body and was bound to go on the rocks, and when that day came the Socialists would be blamed for whatever happened. The second choice was John F. Tobin, who was elected. Tobin was then a member of Section Rochester, N. Y., and at that time was an honest, clear-headed, hard-working Socialist, away ahead of most of the delegates in point of knowledge of the economic and political movement. Great things were expected of him. What he did we shall see later.

Tobin had for a side partner Horace M. Eaton, who was elected general secretary. Eaton was a cunning knave, a mixture of freak and fraud, with the fraud as his long suite. He was a Democrat and a populist as Eaton was best served by it, and always insisted when talking to an S. L. P. man that he was "coming our way." We saw him first and he never arrived. He is in transit yet, so far as we know.

The boot and shoe workers under Tobin and Eaton started in to organize the shoe workers, and succeeded in setting up a fairly strong movement in Brockton, Marlboro, Haverhill, and some other places. While it attempted to be at all honest the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union's growth was slow, hard luck was its lot. In 1898 came the big strikes of Brockton and Marlboro, which were complete failures, so much so, that Marlboro has remained from that day until now totally unorganized. The Marlboro workers fought hard and lost,

and were contemptuously treated throughout. The general office gave them \$150 strike benefit for an all winter's fight, while Tobin and Eaton took nearly \$4,000 salary and expenses for that year.

The cunning eye of Eaton perceived in these failures the death of the B. & S. W.'s U., and together with Tobin he began to scheme to save their jobs, and, as a result, the present constitution drafted by them was snapped on the Rochester, N. Y., convention of 1899. The convention stood for the administration and the new constitution was forced down the throats of the members. Then began the rascality of this pair of labor fakirs in good shape. The old constitution demanded ten cents a week dues, the new one twenty-five cents, and section No. 52 makes it unconstitutional for any future convention "to seek to lower the amount charged for dues in this section."

This was only one of the many fakes which the new constitution contained. A contract was made to govern the use of the union stamp, which plainly makes the B. & S. W.'s U. a scab furnishing agency, and places the workers in the hands of the fakirs, as Tobin can, under its provisions, cause the discharge of any one who is objectionable to him for any cause.

What the stamp means to the workers can be best understood when I quote from a circular letter sent out by Tobin to the bosses August 30, 1902. In this circular appears this paragraph:

"We stand ready to take your factory at the existing scale of wages, issue the union stamp under an arbitration contract which absolutely protects you against a labor dispute, or a stoppage of work, and protects you from being required to pay above the market rate of wages."

With this as their slogan, Tobin and Eaton started in, aided by the capitalist class, or, at least, that portion of it which is engaged in fleecing the shoe workers, to blackmail the men, women and children who make shoes, and they have met with extraordinary success. In Haverhill and Brockton they have been assisted by the kangaroo socialist party, who attempted to do the same in Lynn, but a strong S. T. & L. A. local and S. L. P. section put the kangos on the run.

In order to round up the dupes, Tobin drew around him some of the most notorious labor skates, and all-round crooks: imaginable. Here are some of them: Fred G. R. Gordon, the U. S. mail robber; Jerry Donovan, of Haverhill, a double for Pat Dolan, of the miners, with all of Pat's vices and none of his virtues; in short a low down, ignorant, stupid fakir and brow-beater of the rank and file; Frank A. Sieverman, of Rochester, N. Y., the "hot-air" kangaroo who "nobly wages the class struggle" under the alias of "Pull Down No. 19" for \$90 per month and expenses, which is more than his salary, according to the report blanks of the B. & S. W.'s U.; then there is "Christian Socialist" Gad Martindale, of Rochester, N. Y., and many others, to say nothing about the retinue of horse thieves and prison graduates used to break strikes here and elsewhere.

After the Rochester convention in 1899 the Haverhill shoeworkers broke away from Tobin and formed an independent union, which in turn was driven or sold back to Tobin by Jerry Donovan, who was its walking delegate.

Donovan had been the walking delegate of the shoemakers of Haverhill since Pomeroy was turned down after the collapse of the strike of 1895. He had held the job when the workers were in the B. & S. W.'s U., and when the Haverhillians kicked Tobinism into a cocked hat, when Eaton, and his, at this time, kangaroo superior, Tobin, saw where they were at they used Donovan, who is thoroughly unscrupulous, to turn the trick, and the trick was for Donovan to go with the workers, and later steer them back again, which he did when several manufacturers applied for the stamp. Tobin refused the stamp unless the men became members of the B. & S. W.'s U. The Independents relented, permitted its members to go over to Tobin, with the result that in a few short months the camp of the Independent was split into halves.

When the Independents found out where they were at it was too late. Then the B. & S. W.'s U. granted wage reductions to the bosses in shops which had taken the stamp, thus violating bills of wages which had been posted by the Independents.

The same was true of Lynn and many other places, but not to such a degree as in Haverhill.

Finally the time came when, thanks to the agitation carried on in both Haverhill and Lynn by the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and the Socialist Labor Party, many of the workers in both cities went on strike against Tobinism and that strike is still on, and it looks as though the genial John, to use a forcible, though somewhat elegant expression, was "all in" so far as these cities are concerned. The Brockton bosses, so rumor says, will get rid of him ere long owing to the fact that the men have in some instances in that city refused to be cut down via the union.

What is true of the East is true all over the land, so far as the shoemakers are concerned. Everywhere pure and simple trade unionism has brought the same sad luck and instead of learning from experience the poor dupes have gone from one pure and simple body to

another, each one worse than its predecessor, until the shoe workers who were once amongst the most intelligent of the working class, are now down to the bottom, the spirit of resistance to oppression has been broken, and the height of the ambition of the average shoemaker to-day is to get a job no matter how.

The wage which they once received has dwindled down to a mere shadow of what it once was. A large army of shoeworkers now help to make up the unemployed of the nation, the tramp shoemaker is the rule now rather than the exception.

The only hope of shoeworkers is in the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and the Socialist Labor Party. There, and there alone can they find a cure for their ills. Only when the men and women of the shoe trade say to the labor fakirs, and the capitalist class, that employs them, "Thus far have you gone but no farther, stand and deliver," will the end come to their wanderings. Little by little the light is breaking, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party teaching is being brought home to them; which with the antics of the fakirs in the past and the great army of unemployed workers, together with the steady concentration of the industry, must soon open their eyes.

If it don't the fakirs will continue to open their pockets, and in the end the capitalist class will open their skulls for the shoeworkers will revolt, they must, or go down to the level of Chinese coolies, or Sicilian brimstone miners.

If they make them revolt along the intelligent lines of the S. L. P. then all is well, and the hopes cherished by the oldtimer, who hopes to see the men of the craft back again on easy street, will be realized. But if they do not theirs is the loss, and they will suffer in slavery for their ignorance, and the crimes of their fakir leaders against the working class.

This is the story of the shoe trade told by a wage slave, who has spent nearly a quarter of a century in the harness, who has come down through from the pure and simple union, and who now asks of his fellow craftsmen that they heed the writing on the wall and stand from under.

Fellow craftsmen put an end to the robbing practiced upon you by the labor fakirs and capitalists alike, by standing like men with the rest of your downtrodden, disaffected class, in the ranks of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and the Socialist Labor Party. Fight the boss in the shop, and vote him out of power on election day. Stop scabbing it on yourselves.

A Shoemaker.
Lynn, Mass.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

(Continued from Page 1.)

No. 1 had an agreement with the St. Louis Electrical Contractors' Association. This agreement was broken long ago, and we have no knowledge that the organization is in existence at the present time. We never did any official business with the Electrical League, and went on record at least six months ago that we would not sign any more agreements with any contractors' association, and would only deal with individuals, firms or corporations.

Trusting that you will see and appreciate how just and reasonable our cause is, and give us your moral support, and will not permit the Executive Board to scab our city and bring the I. B. E. W. into disrepute among all Union men, and that you will read this at three regular meetings, we remain,

Yours fraternally,
(L. S.) W. J. Gilsdorf,
Sec. Ex. Board Local No. 1, I. B. E. W.

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WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM

By AUGUST BEBEL

Translated from the Original German of the Thirty-Third Edition

By DANIEL DE LEON

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PART II.

WOMAN IN THE PRESENT—Continued.

On the domain of navigation especially, and added by the difficulty of control, many unpardonable wrongs are committed. Through the revelations made during the seventies by Mimsoll in the British Parliament, the fact has become notorious that many shipowners, yielding to criminal greed, take out high insurances for vessels that are not seaworthy, and unconsciously expose them, together with their crews, to the slightest weather at sea,—all for the sake of the high insurance. These are the so-called "coffin-ships," not unknown in Germany, either. The steamer "Braunschweig," for instance, that sank in 1881 near Helgoland, and belonged to the firm Rocholl & Co., of Bremen, proved to have been put to sea in a wholly unseaworthy condition. The same fate befell, in 1889, the steamer "Leda" of the same firm; hardly out at sea, she went to the bottom. The boat was insured with the Russian Lloyd for 55,000 rubles; the prospect of 8,500 rubles were held out to the captain, if he took her safe to Odessa; and the captain, in turn, paid the pilot the comparatively high wage of 180 rubles a month. The verdict of the Court of Admiralty was that the accident was due to the fact that the "Leda" was unseaworthy and unfit to be taken to Odessa. The license was withdrawn from the captain. According to existing laws, the real guilty parties could not be reached. No year goes by without our Court of Admiralty having to pass upon a larger number of accidents at sea, to the effect that the accident was due to vessels being too old, or too heavily loaded, or in defective condition, or insufficiently equipped; sometimes to several of these causes combined. With a good many of the lost ships, the cause of accident can not be established; they have gone down in midocean, and no survivor remains to tell the tale. Likewise are the coast provisions for the saving of shipwrecked lives both defective and insufficient; they are dependent mainly upon private charity. The case is even more disconsolate along distant and foreign coasts. A commonwealth that makes the promotion of the well-being of all its highest mission will not fail to so improve navigation, and provide it with protective measures that these accidents would be of rare occurrence. But the modern economic system of rapine, that weighs men as it weighs figures, to the end of whacking the largest possible amount of profit, not infrequently destroys a human life if thereby there be in it but the profit of a dollar. With the change of society in the Socialist sense, immigration, in its present shape, also would drop; the flight from military service would cease; suicide in the Army would be no more.

The picture drawn from our political and economic life shows that woman also is deeply interested therein. Whether the period of military service be shortened or not; whether the Army be increased or not; whether the country pursues a policy of peace or one of war; whether the treatment allotted to the soldier be worthy or unworthy of human beings; and whether as a result thereof the number of suicides and desertions rise or drop;—all of these are questions that concern woman as much as man. Likewise with the economic and industrial conditions and in transportation, in all of which branches the female sex, furthermore, steps from year to year more numerous as working-women. Bad conditions and unfavorable circumstances injure woman as a social and as a sexual being; favorable conditions and satisfactory circumstances benefit her.

But there are still other moments that go to make marriage difficult or impossible. A considerable number of men are kept from marriage by the State itself. People pucker up their brows at the celibacy imposed upon Roman Catholic clergymen; but these same people have not a word of condemnation for the much larger number of soldiers who also are condemned thereto. The officers not only require the consent of their superiors, they are also limited in the choice of a wife: the regulation prescribes that she shall have property to a certain, and not insignificant, amount. In this way the Austrian corps of officers, for instance, obtained a social "improvement" at the cost of the female sex. Captains rose by fully 8,000 guilders, if above thirty years of age, while the captains under thirty years of age were thenceforth hard to be had, in no case for a smaller dowry than 30,000. "Now, a 'Mrs. Captain,'" it was thus reported in the "Kölnische Zeitung" from Vienna, "who until now was often a subject of pity for her female colleagues in the administrative departments, can hold her head higher by a good deal; everybody now knows that she has wherewith to live. Despite the greatly increased requirements of personal excellence, culture and rank, the social status of the Austrian officer was until then rather indefinite, partly because very prominent gentlemen stuck fast to the Emperor's coat pocket; partly because many poor officers could not make a shift to live without humiliation, and many families of poor officers often played a pitiful role. Until then, the officer who wished to marry had, if the thirty-year line was crossed, to qualify in joint property to the amount of 12,000 guilders, or in a 600-guilder side income, and even at this insignificant income, hardly enough for decency, the magistrates often shut their eyes, and granted relief. The new marriage regulations are savagely severe, though the heart break. The captain under thirty must forthwith deposit 30,000 guilders; over thirty years of age, 20,000 guilders; from staff officers up to colonels, 16,000 guilders. Over and above this, only one-fourth of the officers may marry without special grace, while a spotless record and corresponding rank is demanded of the bride. This all holds good for officers of the line and army surgeons. For other military officials with the rank of officer, the new marriage regulations are milder; but for officers of the general staff still severer. The officer who is detailed to the captain of the general staff may not thereafter marry; the actual captain of the staff, if below thirty, is required to give security in 36,000 guilders, and later 24,000 more." In Germany and elsewhere, there are similar regulations. Also the corps of under-officers is subject to hampering regulations with regard to marriage, and require besides the consent of their superior officers. These are very drastic proofs of the purely materialistic conception that the State has of marriage.

In general, public opinion is agreed that marriage is not advisable for men under twenty-four or twenty-five years of age. Twenty-five is the marriageable age for men fixed by the civil code, with an eye to the civic independence that, as a rule, is not gained before that age. Only with persons who are in the agreeable position of not having to first conquer independence—with people of princely rank—does public opinion consider it proper when occasionally the men marry at the age of eighteen or nineteen, the girls at that of fifteen or sixteen. The Prince is declared of age with his eighteenth year, and considered capable to govern a vast empire and numerous people. Common mortals acquire the right to govern their possible property only at the age of twenty-one.

The difference of opinion as to the age when marriage is desirable shows that public opinion judges by the social standing of the bride and bridegroom. Its reasons have nothing to do with the human being as a natural entity, or with its natural instincts. It happens, however, that Nature's impulses do not yoke themselves to social conditions, nor to the views and prejudices that spring from them. So soon as man has reached maturity, the sexual instincts assert themselves with force; indeed, they are the incarnation of the human being, and they demand satisfaction from the mature being, at the peril of severe physical and mental suffering.

The age of sexual ripeness differs according to individuals, climate and habits of life. In the warm zone it acts in with the female sex, as

a rule, at the age of eleven to twelve years, and not infrequently are women met with there, who, already at that age, carry offspring on their arms; but at their twenty-fifth or thirtieth year, these have lost their bloom. In the temperate zone, the rule with the female sex is from the fourteenth to the sixteenth year, in some cases later. Likewise is the age of puberty different between country and city women. With healthy, robust country girls, who move much in the open air and work vigorously, menstruation sets in later, on the average, than with our badly-nourished, weak, hypernervous, ethereal city young ladies. Yonder, sexual maturity develops normally, with rare disturbances; here a normal development is the exception: all manner of illnesses set in, often driving the physician to desperation. How often are not physicians compelled to declare that, along with a change of life, the most radical cure is marriage. But how apply such a cure? Insuperable obstacles rise against the proposition.

All this goes to show where the change must be looked for. In the first place, the point is to make possible a totally different education, one that takes into consideration the physical as well as the mental being; in the second place, to establish a wholly different system of life and of work. But both of these are, without exception, possible for all only under wholly different social conditions.

Our social conditions have raised a violent contradiction between man, as a natural and sexual being, on the one hand, and man as a social being on the other. The contradiction has made itself felt at no period as strongly as at this; and it produces a number of diseases into whose nature we will go no further, but that affect mainly the female sex: in the first place, her organism depends, in much higher degree than that of man, upon her sexual mission, and is influenced thereby, as shown by the regular recurrence of her periods; in the second place, most of the obstacles to marriage lie in the way of women, preventing her from satisfying her strongest natural impulse in a natural manner. The contradiction between natural want and social compulsion goes against the grain of Nature; it leads to secret vices and excesses that undermine every organism but the strongest.

Unnatural gratification, especially with the female sex, is often most shamelessly promoted. More or less underhandedly, certain preparations are praised, and they are recommended especially in the advertisements of most of the papers that penetrate into the family circle, as especially devoted to its entertainment. These puffs are addressed mainly to the better situated portion of society, seeing the prices of the preparations are so high that a family of small means can hardly come by them. Side by side with these shameless advertisements are found the puffs—meant for the eyes of both sexes—of obscene pictures, especially of whole series of photographs, of poems and prose works of similar stripe, aimed at sexual incitation, and that call for the action of police and District Attorneys. But these gentlemen are too busy with the "civilization, marriage and family-destroying" Socialist movement to be able to devote full attention to such machinations. A part of our works of fiction labors in the same direction. The wonder would be if sexual excesses, artificially incited, besides, failed to manifest themselves in unhealthy and harmful ways, and to assume the proportions of a social disease.

The idle, voluptuous life of many women in the property classes; their refined measures of nervous stimulants; their overfeeding with a certain kind of artificial sensation, cultivated in certain lines on the hot-house plan, and often considered the principal topic of conversation and sign of culture by that portion of the female sex that suffers of hypersensitiveness and nervous excitement;—all this incites still more the sexual senses, and naturally leads to excesses.

Among the poor, it is certain exhausting occupations, especially of a sedentary nature, that promotes congestion of blood in the abdominal organs, and promotes sexual excitation. One of the most dangerous occupations in this direction is connected with the, at present, widely spread sewing machine. This occupation works such havoc that, with ten or twelve hours' daily work, the strongest organism is ruined within a few years. Excessive sexual excitement is also promoted by long hours of work in a steady high temperature, for instance, sugar refineries, bleacheries, cloth-pressing establishments, night work by gaslight in overcrowded rooms, especially when both sexes work together.

A succession of further phenomena has been here unfolded, sharply illustrative of the irrationality and unhealthiness of modern conditions. These are evils deeply rooted in our social state of things, and removable neither by the moral sermonizing nor the palliatives that religious quacks of the male and female sexes have so readily at hand. The axe must be laid to the root of the evil. The question is to bring about a natural system of education, together with healthy conditions of life and work, and to do this in amplest manner, to the end that the normal gratification of natural and healthy instincts be made possible for all.

As to the male sex, a number of considerations are absent that are present with the female sex. Due to his position as master, and in so far as social barriers do not hinder him, there is on the side of man the free choice of love. On the other hand, the character of marriage as an institution for support, the excess of women, custom;—all these circumstances conspire to prevent woman from manifesting her will; they force her to wait till she is wanted. As a rule, she seizes gladly the opportunity, soon as offered, to reach the hand to the man who redeems her from the social ostracism and neglect, that is the lot of that poor wail, the "old maid." Often she looks down with contempt upon those of her sisters who have yet preserved their self-respect, and have not sold themselves into mental prostitution to the first comer, preferring to tread single the thorny path of life.

On the other hand, social considerations tie down the man, who desires to reach by marriage the gratification of his life's requirements. He must put himself the question: Can you support a wife, and the children that may come, so that pressing cares, the destroyers of your happiness, may be kept away? The better his marital intentions are, the more ideally he conceives them, the more he is resolved to wed only out of love, all the more earnestly must he put the question to himself. To many, the affirmative answer is, under the present economic conditions, a matter of impossibility; they prefer to remain single. With other and less conscientious men, another set of considerations crowd upon the mind. Thousands of men reach an independent position, one in accord with their wants, only comparatively late. But they can keep a wife in a style suitable to their station only if she has large wealth. True enough, many young men have exaggerated notions on the requirements of a so-called life "suitable to one's station." Nevertheless, they can not be blamed—as a result of the false education above described, and of the social habits of a large number of women,—for guarding against demands from that quarter that are far beyond their powers. Good women, modest in their demands, these men often never come to know. These women are retiring; they are not to be found there where such men have acquired the habit of looking for a wife; while those whom they meet are not infrequently such as seek to win a husband by means of their looks, and are intent, by external means, by show, to deceive him regarding their personal qualities and material conditions. The means of seduction of all sorts are piled all the more diligently in the measure that these ladies come on in years, when marriage becomes a matter of hot haste. Does any of these succeed in conquering a husband, she has become so habituated to show, jewelry, finery and expensive pleasures, that she is not inclined to forego them in marriage. The superficial nature of her being crops up in all directions, and therein an abyss is opened for the husband. Hence many prefer to leave alone the flower that blooms on the edge of the precipice, and that can be plucked only at the risk of breaking their necks. They go their ways alone, and seek company and pleasure under the protection of their freedom. Deception and swindle are practices everywhere in full swing in the business life of capitalist society: no wonder they are applied also in contracting marriage, and that, when they succeed, both parties are drawn into common sorrows.

According to E. Ansell, the age of marriage among the cultured and independent males of England was, between 1840-1871, on an average 29.25 years. Since then the average has risen for many classes, by at least one year. For the different occupations, the average age of marriage, between 1880-1885, was as follows:—

Occupations.	Age
Miners	25.36
Textile workers	25.8
Shoemakers and tailors	24.42
Skilled laborers	24.85
Day laborers	25.06
Clerks	25.75
Retailers	26.17
Farmers and their sons	28.73
Men of culture and men of independent means	30.72

These figures give striking proof of how social conditions and standing affect marriage.

The number of men who, for several reasons, are kept from marrying is ever on the increase. It is especially in the so-called upper ranks and occupations that the men often do not marry, partly because the demands upon them are too great, partly because it is just the men of these social strata who seek and find pleasure and company elsewhere. On the other hand, conditions are particularly unfavorable to women in places where many pensionaries and their families, but few young men, have their homes. In such places, the number of women who cannot marry rises to 20 or 30 out of every 100. The deficit of candidates for marriage affects strongest those female strata that, through education and social position, make greater pretensions, and yet, outside of their persons, have nothing to offer the man who is looking for wealth. This concerns especially the female members of those numerous families that live upon fixed salaries, are considered socially "respectable," but are without means. The life of the female being in this stratum of society is, comparatively speaking, the saddest of all those of her fellow-sufferers. It is out of these strata that is mainly recruited the most dangerous competition for the working-women in the embroidering, seamstress, flower-making, millinery, glove and straw hat sewing; in short, all the branches of industry that the employer prefers to have carried on at the homes of the working-women. These ladies work for the lowest wages, seeing that, in many cases, the question with them is not to earn a full livelihood, but only something over and above that, or to earn the outlay for a better wardrobe and for luxury. Employers have a predilection for the competition of these ladies, so as to lower the earnings of the poor working-woman and squeeze the last drop of blood from her veins: it drives her to exert herself to the point of exhaustion. Also not a few wives of government employes, whose husbands are badly paid, and can not afford them a "life suitable to their rank," utilize their leisure moments in this vile competition that presses so heavily upon wide strata of the female working class.

The activity on the part of the bourgeois associations of women for the abolition of female labor and for the admission of women to the higher professions, at present mainly, if not exclusively, appropriated by men, aims principally at procuring a position in life for women from the social circles just sketched. In order to secure for their efforts greater prospects of success, these associations have loved to place themselves under the protectorate of higher and leading ladies. The bourgeois females imitate herein the example of the bourgeois males, who likewise love such protectorates, and exert themselves in directions that can bring only small, never large results. A Sisyphus work is thus done with as much noise as possible, to the end of deceiving oneself and others on the score of the necessity for a radical change. The necessity is also felt to do all that is possible in order to suppress all doubts regarding the wisdom of the foundations of our social and political organization, and to prescribe them as reasonable. The conservative nature of these endeavors prevents bourgeois associations of women from being seized with so-called destructive tendencies. When, accordingly, at the Women's Convention of Berlin, in 1894, the opinion was expressed by a minority that the bourgeois women should go hand and hand with the working-women, i. e., with their Socialist citizens, a storm of indignation went up from the majority. But the bourgeois women will not succeed in pulling themselves out of the quagmire by their own topknots.

How large the number is of women who, by reason of the causes herein cited, must renounce married life, is not accurately ascertainable. In Scotland, the number of unmarried women of the age of twenty years and over was, towards the close of the sixties, 43 per cent. of the female population, and there were 110 women to every 100 men. In England, outside of Wales, there lived at that time 1,467,228 more women than men of the age of 20 to 40, and 359,966 single women of over forty years of age. Of each 100 women 42 were unmarried.

The surplus of women that Germany owns is very unevenly distributed in point of territories and age. According to the census of 1890, it stood:—

Divisions.	Under 15.	15-40.	40-60.	Over 60.
Berlin	1,014	1,056	1,108	1,066
Kingdom of Saxony	1,020	1,032	1,112	1,326
Kingdom of Bavaria, on the right of the Rhine	1,022	1,040	1,081	1,155
On the left of the Rhine	986	1,024	1,065	1,175
Württemberg	1,021	1,076	1,135	1,158
Haden	1,006	1,027	1,099	1,175
Frankfurt	1,003	967	1,042	1,322
Province of Brandenburg	986	981	1,085	1,261
Province of Pommern	984	1,053	1,126	1,191
Province of Rhineland	984	990	1,010	1,087
German Empire	995	1,027	1,094	1,106

Accordingly, of marriageable age proper, 15-40, the surplus of women in the German Empire amounts to 27 women to every 1,000 men. Seeing that, within these age periods, there are 9,429,720 male to 9,682,454 female inhabitants, there is a total female surplus of 252,734. In the same four age periods, the proportion of the sexes in other countries of Europe and outside of Europe stood as follows:—

Countries.	Under 15.	15-40.	40-60.	Over 60.
Belgium (1890)	992	984	1,018	1,117
Bulgaria (1888)	950	1,068	837	947
Denmark (1890)	978	1,080	1,073	1,17
France (1886)	989	1,003	1,006	1
England and Wales (1891)	1,006	1,075	1,090	1
Scotland (1891)	973	1,073	1,165	1,289
Ireland (1891)	966	1,036	1,109	1,068
Italy (1881)	943	1,021	1,005	980
Luxembourg (1891)	996	997	1,004	1,042
Holland (1890)	990	1,022	1,035	1,154
Austria (1890)	1,005	1,046	1,079	1,130
Hungary (1890)	1,001	1,040	996	1,090
Sweden (1890)	975	1,062	1,140	1,242
Switzerland (1888)	999	1,050	1,103	1,148
Japan (1891)	978	962	951	1,146
Cape of Good Hope (1891)	959	1,008	939	1,019

It is seen that all countries of the same or similar economic structure reveal the identical conditions with regard to the distribution of the sexes according to ages. According thereto, and apart from all other causes already mentioned, a considerable number of women have in such countries no prospect of entering wedded life. The number of unmarried women is even still larger, because a large number of men prefer, for all sorts of reasons, to remain single. What say hereto those superficial folks, who oppose the endeavor of women after a more independent, equal-righted position in life, and who refer them to marriage and domestic life? The blame does not lie with the women that so many of them do not marry; and how matters stand with "conjugal happiness" has been sufficiently depicted.

What becomes of the victims of our social conditions? The resentment of insulted and injured Nature expresses itself in the peculiar facial lines and characteristics whereby so-called old maids, the same as old ascetic bachelors, stamp themselves different from other human beings in all countries and all climates; and it gives testimony of the mighty and harmful effect of suppressed natural love. Nymphomania with women, and numerous kinds of hysteria, have their origin in that source; and also discontent in married life produces attacks of hysteria, and is responsible for barrenness.

Such, in main outlines, is our modern married life and its effects. The conclusion is: Modern marriage is an institution that is closely connected with the existing social condition, and stands or falls with it. But this marriage is in the course of dissolution and decay, exactly as capitalist society itself,—because, as demonstrated under the several heads on the subject of marriage:—

1. Relatively, the number of births declines, although population increases on the whole,—showing that the condition of the family deteriorates.

2. Actions for divorce increase in numbers, considerably more than does population, and, in the majority of cases, the plaintiffs are women, although, both economically and socially, they are the greatest sufferers

"Statistik des Deutschen Reiches."

"Statistik des Deutschen Reiches."

thereunder,—showing that the unfavorable factors, that operate upon marriage, are on the increase, and marriage, accordingly, is dissolving and falling to pieces.

3. Relatively, the number of marriages is on the decline, although population increases,—showing again that marriage, in the eyes of many, no longer answers its social and moral purposes, and is considered worthless, or dangerous.

4. In almost all the countries of civilization there is a disproportion between the number of the sexes, and to the disadvantage of the female sex, and the disproportion is not caused by births—there are, on the average, more boys born than girls,—but is due to unfavorable social and political causes, that lie in the political and economic conditions.

Seeing that all these unnatural conditions, harmful to woman in particular, are grounded in the nature of capitalist society, and grow worse as this social system continues, the same proves itself unable to end the evil and emancipate woman. Another social order is, accordingly, requisite thereto.

CHAPTER III.

PROSTITUTION A NECESSARY SOCIAL INSTITUTION OF THE CAPITALIST WORLD.

Marriage presents one side of the sexual life of the capitalist or bourgeois world; prostitution presents the other. Marriage is the obverse, prostitution the reverse of the medal. If men find no satisfaction in wedlock, then they usually seek the same in prostitution. Those men, who, for whatever reason, renounce married life, also usually seek satisfaction in prostitution. To those men, accordingly, who, whether out of their free will or out of compulsion, live in celibacy, as well as to those whom marriage does not offer what was expected of it, conditions are more favorable for the gratification of the sexual impulse than to women.

Man ever has looked upon the use of prostitution as a privilege due him of right. All the harder and severer does he keep guard and pass sentence when a woman, who is no prostitute, commits a "slip." That woman is instinct with the same impulses as man, aye, that at given periods of her life (at menstruation) these impulses assert themselves more vehemently than at others,—that does not trouble him. In virtue of his position as master, he compels her to violently suppress her most powerful impulses, and he conditions both her character in society and her marriage upon her chastity. Nothing illustrates more drastically, and also revoltingly, the dependence of woman upon man than this radically different conception regarding the gratification of the identical natural impulse, and the radically different measure by which it is judged.

To man, circumstances are particularly favorable. Nature has developed upon woman the consequences of the act of generation: outside of the enjoyment, man has neither trouble nor responsibility. This advantageous position over against woman has promoted that unbridled license in sexual indulgence wherein a considerable part of men distinguish themselves. Seeing, however, that, as has been shown, a hundred causes lie in the way of the legitimate gratification of the sexual instinct, or prevent its full satisfaction, the consequence is frequent gratification, like beasts in the woods.

Prostitution thus becomes a social institution in the capitalist world, the same as the police, standing armies, the Church, and wage-master-ship.

Nor is this an exaggeration. We shall prove it.

We have told how the ancient world looked upon prostitution, and considered it necessary, aye, had it organized by the State, as well in Greece as in Rome. What views existed on the subject during the Middle Ages has likewise been described. Even St. Augustine, who, next to St. Paul, must be looked upon as the most important prop of Christendom, and who diligently preached asceticism, could not refrain from exclaiming: "Suppress the public girls, and the violence of passion will knock everything of a heap." The provincial Council of Milan, in 1005, expressed itself in similar sense.

Let us hear the moderns:

Dr. F. S. Huegel says: "Advancing civilization will gradually drape prostitution in more pleasing forms, but only with the end of the world will it be wiped off the globe." A bold assertion; yet he who is not able to project himself beyond the capitalist form of society, he who does not realize that society will change so as to arrive at healthy and natural social conditions,—he must agree with Dr. Huegel.

Hence also did Dr. Wierher, the late pious Director of the Rauhen House near Hamburg, Dr. Patton of Lyon, Dr. William Tait of Edinburgh, and Dr. Parent-Duchatelet of Paris, celebrated through his investigations of the sexual diseases and prostitution, agree in declaring: "Prostitution is ineradicable because it hangs together with the social institutions," and all of them demanded its regulation by the State. Also Schmolder writes: "Immorality as a trade has existed at all times and in all places, and so far as the human eye can see, it will remain a constant companion of the human race." Seeing that the authorities cited stand, without exception, upon the ground of the modern social order, the thought occurs to none that, with the aid of another social order, the causes of prostitution, and, consequently, prostitution itself, might disappear; none of them seeks to fathom the causes. Indeed, upon one and another, engaged in this question, the fact at times dawns that the sorry social conditions, which numerous women suffer under, might be the chief reason why so many women sell their bodies; but the thought does not press itself through to its conclusion, to wit, that, therefore, the necessity arises of bringing about other social conditions. Among those who recognize that the economic conditions are the chief cause of prostitution belong Th. Bade, who declares: "The causes of the bottomless moral depravity, out of which the prostitute girl is born, lie in the existing social conditions. . . . It is the bourgeois dissolution of the middle classes and of their material existence, particularly of the class of the artisans, only a small fraction of which carries on to-day an independent occupation as a trade." Bade closes his observations, saying: "Want for material existence, that has partly worn out the families of the middle class and will yet wear them out wholly, leads also to the moral ruin of the family, especially of the female sex." In fact, the statistical figures, gathered by the Police Department of Berlin, between 1871-1872, on the extraction of 2,224, enrolled prostitutes, show:

Number.	Per Cent.	Father's Occupation.
1,015	47.0	Artisans
407	22.0	Millhand
305	14.4	Small office-holders
222	10.4	Merchants and railroad work-
87	4.1	Farmers
26	1.2	Military service

Of 102 the father's occupation was not ascertainable. Specialists and experts rarely take up investigations of a deeper nature; they accept the facts that lie before them, and judge in the style of the "Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift," that writes in its No. 35, for the year 1893: "What else is there left to the large majority of willing and unwilling celibates, in order to satisfy their natural wants, than the forbidden fruit of the Venus Pandemos?" The paper is, accordingly, of the opinion that, for the sake of these celibates, prostitution is necessary, because what else, forsooth, are they to do in order to satisfy their sexual impulse? And it closes, saying: "Seeing that prostitution is necessary, has the right to existence, to protection, and to immunity from the State." And Dr. Huegel declares himself in his work, mentioned above, in accord with this view. Man, accordingly, to whom celibacy is a horror and a martyrdom, is the only being considered; that there are also millions of women living in celibacy is well known; but they have to submit. What is right for man, is, accordingly, wrong for women; in her case immorality and a crime.

"Geschichte, Statistik und Regelung der Prostitution in Wien."
"Die Bestrafung und polizeiliche Behandlung der gewerbmässigen Unzucht."
"Ueber Gelegenheitsmachers und öffentliches Tanzvergnügen."
"Die Prostitution im 19. Jahrhundert vom sanitätspolizeilichen Standpunkt."

TO BE CONTINUED

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888.....2,990
In 1892.....21,157
In 1896.....36,564
In 1900.....34,191
In 1902.....53,617

IT'S CALLED "LEAKAGE" IN NEW ZEALAND.

In the columns of this issue will be found a letter, worth reading, that Mr. Edw. Tregear, the New Zealand Secretary of Labour, has honored this office with.

Under the heads of a, b, c and d the gentleman attempts four corrections of matter that appeared in these columns. The corrections under a and b are gladly accepted. The allegations of fact, pronounced erroneous by Mr. Tregear, came in through the regular channels of news, and, of course, New Zealand is too far away to first verify every item about it. As to the correction under d, it is immaterial. Material, however, is the correction under c. It is material enough to differ with the Hon. Secretary for Labour of New Zealand;—and what is more, the gentleman's own letter bears out our dissent.

From Mr. Tregear's letter that following facts appear: That the Arbitration Court awarded 30 cents an hour as the fixed minimum wage; that 75 men employed in the furniture trade at 26 cents an hour demanded the 30 cents minimum; that the employers discharged them because they were "too slow for the class of work in question," and the employers "could not make their labour profitable" at the 30 cents rate; and that "as the employers swore they had no agreement and had not discharged their men in a concerted manner" the Court did not convict the employers of a breach of award. Finally Mr. Tregear admits that a "leakage" was shown in the law by that case;—and yet Mr. Tregear denies, under the head of c, that "the economic power of capitalism nullifies the advantages conferred by law" upon labor in New Zealand!

What, if not the "power of capitalism," is it that drives capitalists to produce for sale? What, if not the "power of capitalism," is it that compels capitalists to compete with one another in cheapness of sales? What, if not the "power of capitalism," is it that, in this competitive struggle, renders "unprofitable" for the capitalist the labor of the "slow" man? What, if not the "power of capitalism," is it that either throws upon the street the man "slow" in one thing but gifted with "quickness" in others, or that produces that living indictment of the present social order, the class of human beings, who, sapped of their marrow by unrequited toil, become too "slow" to continue to be "profitable" to the capitalist and, of course, have nothing to fall back upon? What, if not the "power of capitalism," is it that relentlessly brings on this ignominious sequel? And what, finally, if not the "power of capitalism," is it that inevitably reveals "leakages" in the laws meant to curb it, and that ever reveals new "leakages" when the first have been caulked?

Here in America these "leakages," that the power of capitalism periodically brings to the notice of the innocents, are termed "unconstitutional." That is the American capitalist legal slang for the New Zealand "leakage" in a labor law. When the absurdity named "labor law"—as though court-plasters and glycerine were not absurd treatments for the wayfarer bludgeoned by a footpad—is found actually to check the swing of the capitalist footpad's arm, the "labor law" is here pronounced "unconstitutional." It matters little that in the New Zealand instance in point the footpad class, finally and of its own free will, took in the men at the 30 cents minimum, despite the "leakage" in the law: such comedies have been often performed on the American stage also, despite the "unconstitutionality" of the law.

Nor, one is bound to point out, do the large figures adduced by Mr. Tregear as increased annual wages of the workman and increased value of exports, on and of

themselves, rebut, as the gentleman argues, the Socialist principle concerning the power of capitalism to nullify the advantages acquired by law.

In the first place, while the gentleman gives the annual wages paid in factories from 1895 to 1900—during which period the wages rose from \$9,537,960 to \$15,492,805,—he forgets to state the number of workmen among whom these wages were distributed. Obviously, without a knowledge of their number the increase in the total wages is inconsequential. Obviously, \$9,000,000 divided, say, among 10,000 workmen would give them higher wages each than a larger total wage of \$15,000,000 would give each of, say, 20,000 workmen. It is a not uncommon device of American capitalist statistics to compare the total wage between two separate epochs, and then set up a whoop at the "tremendous increased earnings of the workman," whereas, in point of fact, the moment the increased total wage is divided by the corresponding and increased number of wage earners, so far from there being an increase, there is a decrease earning recorded.

In the second place, the gentleman omits all figures as to wages from 1896 (the year the Arbitration Act practically began work) to 1903. For that period he gives only the number of persons employed in factories: 29,000 in 1896, and 59,000 in 1903,—but, obviously, an increased wage slave class, dismissible when it grows "too slow" and, consequently, "unprofitable" for the capitalist, can hardly be taken as a token of the workman's prosperity, not unless companionship in misery and dependence is to be considered the equivalent of bread and dignity.

Finally the statement that the value of New Zealand exports "advanced this year by 15 million dollars on the values of those of the previous year" limps as fatally as the two previous statements. Here in America also the values of exports advanced and advanced by millions, many more millions of dollars than in New Zealand, and yet the earnings of the American working class have, as even the census proves, declined during this period of prosperity. New Zealand friends of the working class must be still in their salad days if they have not yet learned the fact that increased volumes of coats, hats, shoes, in short, wealth under the capitalist system does not mean or even imply an increase of these good things for the workman, but an increased number of patches to his coat, of holes in his shoes, of ventilators to his hat, in short of poverty,—the increase leaks through to the capitalist class.

Whatever advantages are acquired by law, the power of capitalism,—with its privately owned land on which, and its ever improving privately owned machinery with which to work—steadily nullifies.

Call it by what name you please, what with the "leakages," together with all that causes "leakages," capitalist power is not a thing that can be checked or bent; it must be broken. Between Slavery and Freedom there is no half way. One thing or the other. The working class, conscious of its world-wide mission, must conquer the public powers and hurl from its usurped throne the leaky laws—promulgating, and still leakier system—upholding capitalist class.

SUGGESTIONS.

A unique international exposition is announced to be held next Fall in the Imperial Palace of Tauride, at St. Petersburg. It is to be known as the Child's World, and is under the patronage of the Tsarina and sundry ministers,—so runs the announcement made by the Russian Consul General Lodgeysky. The Consul General asked the American Institute of Social Service to assist in the organization of an American Committee. The American Committee has notified this office by circular letter, dated the 23d of last month, of the facts in the case, and given the further information that at the proposed exhibition "there will be assembled everything concerning the moral, physical and intellectual education of childhood and youth," that "nourishment, dress, instruction, physical and moral education" also "all the surroundings of the early years of life" of a child will be presented in pictures and other vivid ways. We construe the circular letter of the American Institute of Social Service as an invitation to make suggestions. We accept the invitation, and now proceed to suggest.

Let there be gotten up and sent from America to the Imperial Palace of Tauride Child World exhibition pictures representing the following child sights:

First, of children driven by the poverty of their parents to sell papers on the streets of our cities in all weather from 4 a. m.—A companion picture of the fat stockholder of those papers, lolling in idle affluence will add to the perspective.

Second, of children in the mining districts driven by the poverty of their parents to leave school and enter the factories.—A companion picture of the mine barons and the factory barons dissipating at late hours of the night will impart proper shading to the exhibit;

Third, of children almost too young to stand whipped into the factories of South Carolina as "tenders."—A companion picture of the capitalist legislators, some of them ministers, decrying as "Socialistic" and "un-Godly" proposed legislation to check the practice, will not fail to throw a bright light on the sight;

Fourth, of the census pages recording the hundreds of thousands of native white illiterate children;

Fifth, of the rags that these children are clad in, while their parents weave and make cloth for the Tsarina's admirers.—N. B. We would strongly urge not to send the rags themselves: that, 'tis true, would be most realistic; but the rags might not be allowed in lest they spread contagion;

Sixth, of the narrow, inhospitable "homes" in which these children are born, and which they are driven out of upon streets for breathing air, while their parents build palaces for the associates of the Tsarina's American heiress intimate friend, the Princess Cantacuzene;

Seventh, of the adulterated food (an accompanying chemical analysis will be a faithful) that these children are "fed" on. Etc.; etc.; etc.

The above suggestions will suggest many others. They will not fail to point out all that the children of America have to be thankful for under capitalist rule.

A SCAB-SMITING DOCUMENT.

Elsewhere in this issue will be found an exact copy of a circular issued by the St. Louis Local, No. 1, of the Electrical Workers to its sister Locals throughout the country. The document (the original of which, with seal and all, is kept in this office for the inspection of those who wish) together with its publication in the columns of this paper only, furnishes a living leaf, with obverse and reverse, from the book of the stage that the Labor Movement in America is now traversing.

Organized on the false principle of the "Brotherhood of Capital and Labor"; organized on the false theory that the working class can hold its own against the capitalist class in the capitalist social order; organized by the false tactics of obtaining the employer's consent;—in short, organized on the "tub without bottom and without hoops" principle of pure and simple Trades Unionism, a Union's officers inevitably developed into sellers-out of the rank and file, scabbers, in short. The document in question proves it. It tells how, the local having demanded higher wages, first the Grand Vice-President, and then the Grand President himself—his name is W. A. Jackson, of Chicago—interfered against the men, went before the Contractors' Association and promised that, if the Union insisted on its demands, the Executive Board would "bring men to St. Louis to fill their places"; and it closes with an appeal to the sister Locals to help the St. Louis Local prevent their national Executive Board FROM SCAB-BING ST. LOUIS.

On the same side of the leaf in which this scab performance of the labor fakir is on exhibition, another sight is on exhibition. A not less scabby. In St. Louis and in a number of other cities there are in the Locals of the electric workers a certain class of people who call themselves Socialists but are very wroth at the Socialist Labor Party Trades Union policy, which demands of its members that they bore "from within" AND "from without" so as to open the eyes of the rank and file and cause them to cauterize the labor fakir ulcer so that the ulcer may never be able to come again to a head. These "Socialists," who object to this policy and call themselves Socialist, alias Social Democratic party men, hold that the only true Trades Union policy is to "bore from within" only. That is, to conceal and hush up all the iniquities of the scabby officers; to join these in their slanderous outcry against the Socialist Labor Party; to vote them in office, as they did Gompers, and to accept office from them in return and appointments to go on junketing trips abroad at the expense of the rank and file, as did Mamie Hayes of Cleveland, she being appointed "fraternal delegate" to the British Trades Union Con-

gress after she had "bored from within" by supporting the scabby Gompers. These bogus Socialists in the electrical workers' Unions lay low when the circular of Local No. 1 of St. Louis was issued in that Local, and when it was received in the others. They did their best to conceal the infamy of their scabby national officers. As trusty candle-holders for the fakirs, they "bored from within" by standing by these in their efforts to prevent the working class from hearing of their scab plan, and thus from being put on their guard.

The other page of the leaf presents the Socialist Labor Party men, or those animated with their manly spirit. They bored from within with a will; and, knowing that boring from within is worthless unless, from without also, boring or lambasting was done, they saw to it that the scab conduct of their national officers be made public and brought to the knowledge of their fellow workers of all trades as an admonition and a warning; and a lesson of what must be done.

And thus—boring from within and from without—the scab-smiting document of the St. Louis Local No. 1, I. B. E. W., is now made public.

CLAMBAKE FINANCING.

About a month ago, Senator Platt of this State, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, J. Pierpont Morgan, Senator Lodge of Massachusetts and Senator Aldridge of Rhode Island foregathered in the neighborhood of Newport. The ostensible purpose and attraction was a clam bake. The actual purpose was a thorough discussion of the Aldridge bill. The discussion was held. The Aldridge bill was given its finishing touches in the rough. Immediately upon the heels of that followed two other incidents: the announcement that a special session of Congress was to be called, and the pronouncement by the New York Bankers' Association against the Post Office money order system: the association was of the opinion that the banks should attend to that. These two incidents are closely connected with the Aldridge bill.

What is the Aldridge bill? At present, no bank can issue currency except upon a percentage of United States bonds deposited by it. The essential features of the Aldridge bill are two: first, to allow certain railroad bonds the same value, as deposits, as United States bonds enjoy; and, secondly, to allow the banks to issue currency upon such deposits. Taken together with the pronouncement of the Bankers' Association against the Post Office money order system, the Aldridge bill is the entering wedge for looting the Federal treasury in the interest of the country's plutocracy.

First certain railroad bonds, then and gradually any old thing that the plutocrats may choose is to become equivalent to United States bonds; secondly, the shaving, amounting to a good deal in the aggregate, that the Post Office makes on the money orders, are to be turned into the pockets of the bankers.

'Tis not "greed" merely that is at the bottom of this maneuver. 'Tis distress also. And this leads to the special session of Congress. The Captains of Industry, these "intellectual giants" have made such a mess of their stewardship that things are cracking with the crack of doom. The "Captains" need cash. They need the cash the Federal Government collects; they need more; they need all the wild-cat cash that their banks can "issue" upon inflated securities. They need all this: they need it badly; they need it quickly. Hence the special session of Congress, before the amalgamated Republican-Democrat capitalist magnates of which this terse alternative is to be put:

"Now, gentlemen, here is your crisis; the way to avoid it is the Aldridge bill; take your choice.

Of course, the Social Crash is not to be humbugged by any such clam bake maneuvers: of course whether the maneuver is successfully engineered through Congress or not, the working class remains with its nose to the grindstone. In so far the maneuver is of no account. It is of surpassing account, however, as an insight into the Partingonian mind of our "Captains of Industry," the rulers of Capitalist society. It is also of account as a hint to the workers to hurry up and take the reins of government from the imbecile hands that now hold them.

SCREENING THE BLEEDERS OF THE WORKERS.

Would that every workman had leisure to read and ponder over the squibs and articles that the press of

the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party is publishing anent the Murphy, Parks and other labor fakir revelations that are being made! These articles and squibs furnish proof positive of the scurvy bonds that bind the scurvy pack—fakirs and Social Democrats.

The malfeasances of Murphy, Parks, etc., have been set out in detail. The substance of it is that these gentlemen played fast and loose with the welfare of their rank and file. According as the purring maggot of corrupt desires bit the gentlemen, their rank and file was thrown out of work or ordered back. Strikes thus ordered, or "settled," or threatened was the trade of the gentlemen, and the rank and file figured but as cattle that were led to and from the shambles to be skinned by capitalist employers, or to be slaughtered by the fakirs. Such was the substance of the Murphy-Parks "labor leadership," and such continues to be the substance of all labor fakir leadership. Of course, in the process of the manoeuvre the capitalist is blackmailed, but the black-mailing of him is but an incident—without the rank and file of the workmen to operate with, no such black-mailing were possible; of course, the capitalist is made to pay by the nose, but he could not be thus bled without the rank and file of the workmen being bled by every pore. Not a dollar blackmailed from the capitalist but represents hundreds of dollars worth of the marrow of the working class, squeezed out of them by the enforced idleness they are thrown into through these bogus strikes, ordered by the fakir, or upon the strength of which in the past the fakir can blackmail the capitalist in the present. It may be literally said that the moneys blackmailed from the employer are the gathered drops of blood that the rank and file are and have been made to shed in bogus strikes.

Now, then, in view of this fact, what does this bogus "Socialist" party press do? Does it utilize the opportunity to open the eyes of the rank and file on the way they are treated? Not that press! IT SEEKS TO CONCEAL THE FACT FROM THE RANK AND FILE. The Erie "People" seeks to underscore the fact that it is the capitalist who was bled and not the rank and file; the "Volkzeitung" and its English poodle "The Worker" try to make out the whole thing to be merely a political manoeuvre of the District Attorney; the Chicago "Socialist" follows suit—and so on all along the line. The extraordinary opportunity afforded by the Murphy-Parks revelations to urge the rank and file to organize their bodies in such way that their officers shall wield less despotic powers, and to look more closely into the strikes that they are periodically hurled into—all that is given the go-by. Of course! Any other policy would impair the "peesiness" of these privately owned papers, that hold their party by the throat, and whose profits come from these fakirs and defaulting union officers.

Unless that bogus party press is soon bought up in job lots, the day may yet come when the bare name of Socialism, that to-day they are desecrating, will rise on the stomach of the working class and of every decent person.

The yellow "socialistic" "American and Journal" declares that it will take four men to fill the place of Charles M. Schwab, who has resigned as President of the Steel Trust. It is always the aim of the panegyrics of capitalism to make the capitalist appear a physical and mental prodigy, capable of greater exertion and more successful, because better-directed effort, than the generality of men, especially the workmen. This is necessary for without it the capitalist robbery of the great working class, who by their associated intellectual and manual labor produce all wealth, would be without justification. But the capitalist panegyrics like the "socialistic" "American and Journal" in the pursuit of this aim often overdo it, thus exposing the falsity of their claims. This happens to be the case with Schwab. For the past year or two Charles M. Schwab has only been the nominal head of the Steel corporation. Long excursions abroad, including spectacular raids "on the bank at Monte Carlo" have made it a physical impossibility for him to be the active head of that organization. During Schwab's absence the executive functions of the Steel Trust were performed by "competent subordinates," as the "Evening Post" pointed out during the discussion attending the subject of his retirement, as broached last summer. Consequently, the claim that it will take four men to fill his place is all rot, dished out for the purpose of continuing the popular superstition regarding the superior physical and intellectual endowments of the capitalist class. Instead of four men being needed to fill his place, what will be required is a figurehead, who will pose as a directing genius while paid laborers perform the wonders attributed to him. W. E. Corey can fill that part just as well as Charles M. Schwab.

The iron and steel industry of this country is in a bad way. Following the announcement of a decline in the July shipments of the Steel Trust and its unsuccessful attempts to secure South American orders in competition with Belgian manufacturers, there appears this statement in the Iron Age of the issue of the 6th inst.:

"There is some uncertainty in nearly all the branches of the iron trade, induced by the feeling that consumption may decline during the balance of the year, while production shows no signs of adequate restriction. What has added to the uneasiness is the fact that occasionally demands are made by condition of the money and security market has put a serious damper on new undertakings, which it is very difficult to finance.

"In the heavy lines a fair tonnage is being placed. So far as plates and shapes for car building are concerned, the future is uncertain, because the steel car builders have not had any important orders for a considerable time. Nor do the shipyards promise to be as heavy consumers as they have been.

"Slight concessions are being made in sheets and in terne plates, while the steel bar mills have decided to guarantee prices against a decline.

"Dullness reigns in all branches of the metal trade, and the general tendency is downward."

This statement, especially its concluding paragraph, is very significant. The iron and steel industry is the leading industry of this country. Any downward tendency in that industry is bound to make itself felt in the allied industries—in the coke, ore, transportation and other industries; so that, in the course of time, a general paralysis of industry will ensue. There can now be no further doubt that the industrial crisis, against which so many warnings have been uttered during the course of the year, will soon be upon us. Then look out for a steep decline in present conditions!

There are many so-called free-thinkers who wax wroth because the organs of the Socialist Labor Party do not embrace their peculiar hobby in order to free the working class mind from what they call "the fetters of theology." Of course, the inference is that, with the working class mind "free" from "the fetters of theology," that is, enrap in the "free thought" philosophy, the working class would embrace Socialism instantly. How fallacious this contention is will be seen from the following choice bit of "free thought" taken from the Truth Seeker of August 8, and written by George E. MacDonald:

"One Socialist who has joined in the recent discussion of economic problems asserts that everything produced by labor belongs to labor. I heard a similar proposition from a speaker—perhaps it was E. H. Heywood—before the New York Liberal Club a quarter of the century ago, and was charmed with the idea. The orator said that the workman, including hodcarriers, who erected a house should own it. I saw building operations going on every day on my way to and from work, and looked upon the gentlemen going up the ladder with bricks and mortar as the victims of a vicious industrial system. I might have ripened into a Socialist if I had not one day noticed that the material on a building near Stuyvesant Square was hoisted by means of a tackle with a horse attached. While no hodcarriers were in sight. Then I saw that if the premises I had been arguing from were sound the horse would be a part owner of the house when completed."

The organs of the Socialist Labor Party will continue in the future, as in the past, to expose the theological as well as the "free thought" prophets of capitalism, regardless of whether they happen to be Pope Leos or Bob Ingersalls!

The corporation mill located at Trenton, N. J., has just ground out a \$5,000,000 concern whose object is said to be the acquiring of a chain of department stores throughout the United States. There are already in existence one or two concerns, like Wanamaker's and Siegel-Cooper Co., who own two or more department stores in many cities, but a chain of department stores is something new. It will be interesting to watch this new corporation when in action. Most likely its policy will create as much havoc among the small storekeepers of all kinds as the policy of the Tobacco Trust created among the small tobaccoists when its chain of retail stores were launched. Concentration in distribution progresses.

The Book Committee of the New London, Conn., Public Library, as will be seen from two letters under "Correspondence" in this issue, does not approve of the extension of knowledge. In excluding the Socialist classics offered by Adam Marx, it displayed a narrowness of mind that would be inexplicable were it not for the fact that it is not the function of "public" libraries to advance social interests, but to conserve the interests of the class that dominates them. The Book Committee of the New London Library should change the name of their institution so that it will conform to their action. "Public Library" should read "Capitalist Library."

It makes the observant student of industrial combinations in this country smile to note how the large trusts, like the Steel, Ship, Railroad and others, keep right on growing, while suits are being brought against the comparatively small ones, like the Glass Combine and the Kodak Trust, in an attempt to "bust the trust"; that is, prevent the growth of trustification. It makes such a student smile; it does, indeed!



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—There are some things I don't like in Socialism.

Uncle Sam—Which, for instance, and to wit?

B. J.—The idea of compulsion.

U. S.—Is there any compulsion in Socialism?

B. J.—Certainly, their "co-operation" is not "voluntary" co-operation. I believe in voluntary, not compulsory, co-operation. Compulsory co-operation is dictatorial. I'll none of it.

U. S.—Do you hold that what you are "compelled" to do is under all circumstances "dictatorial"?

B. J.—Certainly.

U. S.—Could you live with your head under water?

B. J.—Not I.

U. S.—Could you move by lying?

B. J.—Nay.

U. S.—You are "compelled" to live above water and to move with your feet, eh?

B. J.—Certainly. That is the result of man's physical condition.

U. S.—You would not, then, consider it dictatorial that you must walk and can't fly, that you must breathe air and not do the fish act?

B. J.—Of course not; there is no dictatorship in that.

U. S.—You then admit that not all that you are "compelled" to do is "dictatorial"?

B. J.—No, not all. As I stated just now, what my physical or natural condition requires I must submit to, and don't think it a hardship.

U. S.—And submit to gladly?

B. J.—Yes, gladly.

U. S.—The first question you must then put to yourself in this instance is this: "Do social conditions give me any choice?"

B. J.—Why should they not?

U. S.—We'll see. If you had the choice to live under water you would change about like the hippopotamus?

B. J.—Guess I would.

U. S.—Having no choice you stay above water?

B. J.—All I can.

U. S.—Now, then I shall show that social conditions are as compulsory upon man as physical ones. Can you live and do your work unless the shoemaker, the tailor, the bricklayer, the coal miner and so forth worked and supplied you with what you need?

B. J.—No, but neither could they live unless I and other working farmers supplied them with food.

U. S.—Exactly. You are all dependent on the one on the other?

U. S.—You are co-operating?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—You are COMPELLED to co-operate?

B. J.—Hem! By Jericho! it's so!

U. S.—Do you feel under any dictatorship?

B. J.—No.

U. S.—The prevalent method of production and distribution brought on by the tools of production established social conditions from which man can escape as little as he can escape from physical conditions. Capitalism—capitalism thrusts co-operation upon men; now that the means of production has become such that no one man can operate them alone and that it takes the whole of society to conduct the work of production and distribution, the co-operative feature of life has become most pronounced. Man has now no more choice whether he will co-operate or not than whether he will live under water or not.

From Russia comes reports of widespread strikes. In Odessa the strikers were slain by Cossacks. This savage treatment was the result of orders issued by the Minister of the Interior, De Plehve. This gentleman will be remembered for his brutal attitude in the Kishineff massacre, which he is reported to have instigated in order to destroy the Jewish Socialist workmen and the Russian revolutionary Socialist movement. These reports indicate that, as the Kishineff massacre failed in this purpose, other and equally as bloody measures have become necessary. De Plehve may yet live to learn, as Bismark did, that the revolutionary Socialist movement thrives on oppression.

The evidences of "prosperity" for the working class continue to multiply on every hand. Thousands of New England's textile workers are undergoing an enforced vacation, due to the mills shutting down. They will not be lonely, as 700 steel workers employed by the Carnegie Company, at Sharon, Pa., will keep them company. More, many more, will follow before the year is over. Capitalism's periodic crisis is entering its first acute stages.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, heads; their own signatures and address. None, either will be recognized.]

The Need of Sound Socialist Economics.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Section Troy has commenced its weekly outdoor agitation meetings. Two weeks ago to-day we held one at the corner of River and Fulton streets. A large and attentive audience was present and a number of Weekly Peoples and pamphlets were sold.

The coming fall municipal election has brought forth a Civic League in Troy. It is intended to be a means of securing political snaps for the labor fakirs. We are ready for the fray, and propose to show the workers that the S. L. P. instead of striving to secure political snaps for the misleaders of labor, proposes to educate the members of the working class to the fact that if they wish to have their interests looked after in the law-making, interpreting and enforcing departments of the city, state and nation, they must install the working class in political office.

We propose to show the working class the necessity of being drilled in Socialist economics, as a working class that secures control of political office without such drilling, would simply, with their capitalist education, again give us a capitalist government. This, so far as the worker is concerned, would be as bad as the arithmetic that teaches three and two make four. The more of this kind of arithmetic is instilled in the working class mind, the less they know, and the more there is to unlearn.

Cohoes is the home of the prophet whose identity was not discovered (until he implanted his big feet firmly on the floor, and, expanding his beasty bosom, said "Socialism is treason." When asked where he received this information he answered, "From a preacher." Methinks this shows what and whose interests the preacher has at heart. While he preaches the spiritual he looks after the material. S. H. Baumgardt.

Cohoes, N. Y., August 2.

The Kangaroo Camp Again in Distress.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Another Kang, has gone on hop! They had hardly recovered from the shock caused by the disappearance of "Genosse" Southeimer, the treasurer of the "Waters" Union, No. 1, who left for regions unknown, taking along \$300 of the union's money, when a goodly number of the "Alte Genosse" assembled in the hall of the Beer Tunnel, at 64 East Fourth street, Saturday, August 1, to pass sentence on one of the oldest, staunchest and most trustworthy of Kangs, Louis Schmiedl, financial secretary of the Workers' Sick and Death Benefit Fund, who disappeared two weeks ago, after cashing a check for \$311.

It is not out of place here to mention that "Genosse" Schmiedl was one of the most prominent and active Kangaroos in the Tenth Assembly District, and the most conspicuous members of Branch 1 in denouncing and ridiculing the Socialist Labor Party. The quartette who always shouted themselves hoarse about the wicked "deleonties" were Louis Schmiedl, Louis Simon, George Silburg and Phil H. Schmidt. They always shouted "Stop thief!" At the same time Branch 1 and the Labor Lyceum were being robbed systematically by Kangaroos in the interests of Kangaroodom.

It was a gloomy night, indeed, in the Beer Tunnel, where the lamented "Genosse" had so often denounced the "deleonties" in order to save the cause of Kangaroodom from "the dead S. L. P.," thus gaining the necessary confidence to obtain the means for a trip around the world.

Some solace was found, though, in the fact that Branch 1 of the W. S. & D. B. Fund is already more or less accustomed to occurrences of that sort. Mr. Schmiedl being the fourth in the line of officers leaving that body without accounting for moneys entrusted to them.

responsible position of financial secretary of Waiters' Union No. 1, was elected, presumably because it was thought that Southeimer, of the same union, took along the biggest chunk of corruption when he went on the hop. Who's next?

One of the Sufferers.

New York, August 2.

Lyons, Col., Wakes Up.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—On Sunday, July 26, for the first time in the history of Lyons, Col., a Socialist Labor Party meeting was held, six of the Denver comrades being present. As the meeting was pretty well advertised, we expected a big audience; but beer and fishing proved to be a greater attraction than working class politics in this warm weather.

But the crowd we did have, hardly a hundred, showed great interest and attention. The speakers were Comrades Chase and Starkenberg.

Two Monthly and two Weekly subscriptions were secured and 35 cents' worth of literature was sold. Mr. J. W. Hess, an S. P. man, secured permission for us to hold the meeting, there being an ordinance against open-air meetings on Sunday.

At the close of the meeting we asked those who were interested to form a club for the systematic study and discussion of Socialism. Five men besides myself put down their names. The plan is to read all we can during the week and meet on Sundays and exchange ideas.

We are not going to quit the agitation at this place, if we can help it.

Carl Morby.

Lyons, Col., July 28.

What One Man Can Do.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—We saw to it that every delegate to the State Convention of the molders got a copy of The People containing the article on that trade. Delegate Lambert, from this city, refused to take the copy handed him. He is the Democratic representative from this district to the Legislature. He is the man spoken of as the C. L. U. candidate for Mayor.

I once before ran up against this labor fakir. It was at an open meeting of the C. L. U. At that time he was ushering politicians like ex-Mayor Beckwith and the present Mayor Dart, who stood by the Central Vermont Railway when the freight handlers were on strike. Beckwith is a Democrat and Dart is a Republican. The speaker at the C. L. U. meeting was Mayor Thayer, of Norwich, who worked hard to get an armory for that town—and got it. Public Ownership was the topic of a speech that he read. There were several other leading lights, business men and lawyers present to tell the workmen what is best for them. After the meeting was over I distributed leaflets and Lambert refused to take one.

Of the molders delegates at least a dozen were seen reading The People on the street. I would suggest that the comrades everywhere use these trade articles to push our propaganda. I am getting some Weekly People subscriptions now, and am well on the way for my seventh hundred subscriber to The Monthly People. Adam Marx.

New London, Conn., Aug. 1.

At Work in Woburn.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Section Woburn, Mass., held its first open air agitation meeting of the season Saturday evening, July 25. Comrades John W. Ryan and Michael Tracy, of Lynn, were the speakers. Both these young men, being thoroughly grounded in working class economics and completely in touch with the history of the labor movement and the politics of the Socialist Labor Party and S. T. & L. A., are able at all times to give an interesting talk, and this occasion was no exception.

The meeting was called to order by the organizer, who briefly pointed out the fact that a person with no previous knowledge of Socialism would find it hard to much more than get a glimmer of the possibilities of the Socialist Republic (where class rule and extortion are abolished forever) by listening at a single meeting, and in view of such fact, urged that those present take nothing on faith, but to purchase the literature of the party and study for themselves. After inviting those present to the next discussion meeting of the section, at the hall in Mann's Block, Comrade Tracy was introduced. His stentorian voice soon drew a large audience, while he pointed out the necessity of the working class organizing under the banner of the S. L. P.

Comrade Ryan then defined the class struggle, and showed effectively the lesson to be learned from the failures of workingmen organized on other than class-conscious lines as advocated by the Socialist Labor Party. He closed with an earnest appeal to the workers of Woburn to give the Socialist Labor Party an opportunity to present its policy, calling upon them to give a willing ear to the logic as presented through our literature and the columns of The Daily, Weekly and Monthly People.

The comrades sold eight copies of "What Means This Strike?" and distributed a number of leaflets. These meetings will be continued all during the campaign. I would say at this time that the progress of Socialism in Woburn might seem to some to be somewhat slow, but such progress that has been made has been made with order.

The section meetings are well attended and a series of discussion meetings have been started with a view to getting every member to take part and to develop speakers. W. E. Fresh.

Woburn, Mass., July 31.

Inside Facts for Miners.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—District No. 1 of the U. M. W., the stalwart, conservative district, has practically gone to pieces. There is nothing left but debts. The reasons for the great fight for a "check off" in these regions is now plain. The fakirs can collect no dues from the men without it. At the Archibald Colliery in Hyde Park 500 men out of 600 pay no dues, and this ratio applies to this whole section.

Before the district convention the local presidents were called together and told "we have nothing in the treasury and something must be done. We can collect only enough dues to pay salaries of officers; we owe \$12,000, and a local firm is pressing us for a bill of \$85 of long standing.

The valiant Nicholas hit upon a plan. He said: "Let us go before the convention and tell them we have lots of

money," and so it was done, and the bluff was worked to stave off these creditors for a time, until a levy was made on the members for money.

Who they are going to levy on did not seem to trouble them; with only a paper membership they are unable to collect a penny of dues.

"Oh, but would not the check off save the day for them! Without it they are powerless, and the miners are onto the shell game.

We will now give the miners some S. T. & L. A. education. The above inside facts are from the books of the organization and the presidents' meeting. Miners.

Scranton, Pa., Aug. 1.

S. T. & L. A. and the Party Press.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—D. A. 22, S. T. & L. A. endorses the action of the G. E. B. in aiding The Daily People Finance Committee. D. A. 22 realizes that in order to educate the working class to class-conscious action our Party Press is necessary, and it must be plain to comrades of the S. T. & L. A. that in freeing the Party Press from debt the workings of our press will not be hampered as it has been in the past, inasmuch as the party will own its debt. It will not be in a position where it can be hampered by designing individuals, which might be the case if otherwise the party press is dependent on those who are not members.

Comrades of the S. T. & L. A., let it be a little effort on the part of all to aid our Party Press, that the working class of the world may be educated to class-conscious action.

C. B. Gyatt, Recording Secretary. D. A. 22, S. T. & L. A., Watervliet, N. Y., Aug. 1.

The "Logical" Outcome.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The logical centerists are out with a letter, privately circulated, praying for funds. They say if the coin is not forthcoming they can't keep up "the paper." Pittsburgh, July 31. P. R.

A "Public Library" That Should Be Called "Capitalist Library."

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Enclosed you will find a letter to me refusing four books which I tendered to the New London Public Library, and returning them. Three of the books were by Karl Marx, namely: "Capital," "Wage, Labor and Capital," and "The Paris Commune;" the other was F. Engels' "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific." These books were some of those I received from the S. L. P. and Labor News Company for getting Monthly People subscriptions. I thought that by putting them in the library it would give the workers of this city a chance to understand our principles.

Adam Marx.

New London, Conn., July 29.

[Enclosure.]

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF NEW LONDON, CONN.
Incorporated, 1892.

New London, Conn., July 29, 1903.
Adam Marx, New London, Conn.

Dear Sir—The Book Committee, upon looking through the books which you were so kind as to offer to the Public Library, decided not to accept them, so I return them by the messenger, with thanks. Yours truly,

Helen A. Gay, Librarian.

A Communist and the Machinists' Daily People Lathe.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Enclosed find \$5 for the Daily People Special Fund and \$1 for the machinists who are endeavoring to furnish The Daily People plant with a lathe.

As for me, I consider the latter undertaking instructive and encouraging in the line of what we are driving at, viz., to free not the man, but the labor, which should be applied, instead of for individual profit, to the common good, from which every helpful member of society will get a plentiful livelihood and activity.

I hope that the purpose of this undertaking is well understood by the participants, and that necessity, usefulness and purpose alone are dictating their individual and collective activity.

Joseph Finkbohmer.

Philadelphia, Pa., July 25.

Successful Meeting in Brownsville.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The open-air meeting of the Thomas Paine Literary Society of Brooklyn, held last Saturday, was the most successful that the organization has held in Brownsville. H. Jager, the speaker, held the attention of the audience, which numbered about 500 persons, until the close of the meeting. A few questions were asked and answered in a satisfactory manner. Twenty-eight pamphlets were sold and a number of copies of The Monthly People distributed.

The club intends to hold another meeting this Saturday. Geo. Wishnak.

Brooklyn, August 3.

Workmen Wait In Rain To Hear Socialist Labor Party Speaker.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—During the past week I visited Marlboro, Webster, Southbridge, Hudson and Whitensville, with good meetings in each place, except that in Southbridge. What would have been the best meeting of the week was there broken up by the rain, after I had spoken about twenty minutes. I had advertised for Wednesday evening but did not go down because of the weather.

To show how much interest is manifested when I did go Thursday I stood in front of the spectacle factory. As the workers filed out they said: "We were looking for you last night; we put Marcy out of business the next day, after your meeting."

Although Thursday proved no more favorable than the previous evening (it looked so much like rain I stood on the corner trying to determine whether to start or not), the men on the corner said to me, "Go ahead, we are waiting to hear you."

As already stated, after talking twenty minutes, the rain began to come down and the crowd dispersed, with the exception of about a dozen who staid and talked under the protection of the wall. We held quite a meeting, as Mr. Marcy was there, and talked so well, that I sold seven books, incidentally making the kang show, by his own statements, that he was wrong. One man, taking a hand, said: "Now, Marcy, you lead me to believe that your party was first in the field, while this S. L. P. man makes you admit that they were the first and original. I am going to study this thing for myself. Give us one of those leaflets."

In Hudson I had quite a tilt with the "Selectmen." I advertised to hold a meeting in the Square, and was informed that no meetings had been held there since 1894. That was the vote of the "board" and "that settled it." I would obstruct traffic, people might meet with an accident at that point, and, then, it would be establishing a precedent.

Well I established the precedent and no attempt was made to stop me. The more dealings we have with the capitalist class, the more they show that they are cheap bluffs. We must ever be after them and never let up until their system of bluff and bluster is overthrown. W. H. Carroll.

Worcester, Mass., Aug. 3.

A Timely Motion.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I move, that in future, The People, instead of speaking of the fights between pure simple unions in a trade, as the craft struggle, designate such conflicts as the "graft struggle." This will bring the terminology up to date. D. D. K.

New York, Aug. 3.

Who Will Answer?

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Will some reader of The People forward me a copy of the "Worker" to which W. H. Carroll refers in his correspondence under date of July 22? I will pay price of same and postage. I can make good use of that paper. S. Hinkel.

1167 Cotton street, Reading, Pa.

The Connection Between the "Socialist," Alias Social Democratic, Party and the Capitalist Class.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Once more the C. L. U. of Brockton has spoken, and has proven officially our former statement that it would be a difficult matter to find a place upon the American continent where the connection between the so-called "Socialist," alias Social Democratic, party and the capitalist class is more apparent than it is in the city of Brockton, Mass., and its immediate vicinity.

As before stated, all the leading lights in the multi-nominal party are delegates to the C. L. U., and the "Socialist Mayor," Coulter, is and has been a delegate for a number of years.

And now they give evidence of the way that "the pure and simple unions are now waging the class struggle"—for the capitalist class.

There seems to be a scramble between two competing firms to secure the control of the yeast trade, and as one kind of yeast bears the seal of slavery (union label), the C. L. U. resolved to mislead labor into a fight where our class is in no way concerned.

However, it would be well to quote the resolution: It has been resolved "that the Brockton Central Labor Union, in line of their policy of advancing the label at all times, do consider that any bread not made with union yeast is not, union-made bread."

Then follows an ad. for a few firms, but not all, who are using the "union" yeast in their bakeries. Thus it is evident that they are also furnishing free (?) advertising for the favored few.

Of course, it is understood that the C. L. U. is opposed to the trust, as that body has refused to grant the "union store card" to two merchants who handle the National Biscuit Company's product. But when one recalls the fact that the Mohican, one of the chain of stores in New England controlled by Frank Munsey, who also publishes the Boston Journal, upon which the "union" label is conspicuous by its absence, then one is compelled to ask why does the C. L. U. mention the name of that particular store twice in its official circular?

The others we will pass, but we must make a few comments on the "bakery" at "Titicut—State Farm."

That is a penal institution where any one who, by enforced idleness in the present system of wage slavery, becomes a trespasser on this part of the planet (cultured Massachusetts) is, if without "visible means of support" (money), adjudged a "tramp," and the penalty of the crime of looking for work is an indeterminate sentence of not less than six months nor more than two years.

Other men are often sent to the same place for the third offence of "trying to drown their sorrows" within twelve months' time. The penalty of this last crime is like unto the first, and some of these unfortunate men work in the bakery and produce "union bread" for the others.

That must be a cheering thought, and, of course, "better conditions" are assured.

Perhaps it would be well to inquire of the C. L. U. and the "Socialist" (?) party if the advancing of the label is of more importance than the cause of labor; and, if so, why not let it be called the Central Label Union?

If the C. L. U. has the right to decide what kind of bread is union made, what action will be taken concerning other food stuffs?

Thus the "noble waging" continues; but the Bakers' Union did not endorse the resolution, although they did endorse the label. Jer. Devine.

North Abington, Mass., Aug. 3, 1903.

Section Chicago Working Hard for the Good of the Party.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—enclose a list of subscribers taken in this city during the week ending August 1. With the assistance of Comrade Kieley, I succeeded in getting twenty Weekly and thirty-three Monthly subscribers.

Comrades Lingenfelter, Fiedler, Martin, Justh, Davis and myself held a very successful meeting last night at the corner of Sixty-third and Halstead streets. The crowd was very large and attentive, and as a result we had very little trouble in disposing of books and papers.

A little bunch of Kangaroos held forth on the opposite corner from us, and after our meeting one of the comrades suggested that we go over and distribute among their little crowd leaflets on "The Difference," which we did. While there we fired question after question at the speaker, and his only answer to the questions was "Union Wreckers" and "De Leonites." Comrade Lingenfelter challenged him to debate on the difference between the S. L. P. and the S. P., but he declined. He is a fair sample of the bunch of grafters that style themselves "Socialists" in this city and elsewhere.

The comrades of Section Chicago are working hard for the good of the party, and they have responded very freely in a financial way to keep me in the field. They, as well as myself, send best wishes for success to the comrades in the United States, Canada and elsewhere. Very fraternally, Charles Pierson.

Chicago, August 2, 1903.

The Clear Creek Outrages.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—One of our party members was recently on the scene of the Clear Creek County, Colo., outrage. He states that the newspapers are now taking sides on the labor questions at issue. While the rank and file of the railroad men acted in sympathy with the fourteen unfortunate miners who were driven from the place by the anarchistic "citizens' committee," the capitalist heads of the railroad men's organization stand "neutral" in the interests of their masters, the capitalist class. How long will the working class ignore their own interests by voting for their capitalist masters and sacrificing the interests of the workers for a few crumbs that fall from the capitalist's table?

Workers, arouse from your lethargy. Vote yourselves into power as the useful class of society. Work for the abolition of wage slavery, through the Socialist Labor Party. Endorse the genuine tactics of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, which stand for the substitution of the co-operative commonwealth for the present planless system of rapine and disorder. A. J. B.

Jersey City, N. J., Aug. 5, 1903.

A Kangaroo Attempts to Convert an S.

L. P. Man—A Dialogue.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Coming from dinner the other day I came across a Jew with a satchel full of all kinds of notions. He told me he was advertising a store which he had opened here, gave me his card, and so on.

"By the way," he said during our conversation, "are you not a comrade?"

I asked him what he meant by "comrade." He answered:

"I think I know you from New York. You belonged to a Socialistic organization there. I used to belong to it, too; but I am now in business and have no time for it."

I told him that I was still a member of the same organization.

"Yes," he inquired. "I heard that there was one of the speakers here in an automobile."

I told him that was a Kangaroo, and I was none; that they are rotten; and that I would not be seen in their company.

"Why," it is because they grew so fast," he asked, with a sneer.

"I would tell you all about the Social Democratic party if I had the time," I answered. "I have not much time, but let me ask you a question: You claim to be a 'Socialist' party member and are out fighting the capitalist parties. Now what do you think of one of your Social Democrats being appointed to office by the Democratic party?"

"Where?" the Kang wanted to know.

"Here, in Peekskill," I said.

"Well, well, it is hard to believe it."

"You mean hard to admit."

"Well, he is only one. The whole Social Democratic party is not responsible for one man."

"Here is another, then. What do you think of one who is elected on the Republican ticket and, while holding office, runs on the Social Democratic ticket?"

"Where was that?" the Kang wanted to know.

"Here, in Peekskill," I again said.

"It is hard to believe," the Kang said.

I offered to show him a local paper at any time he wished, but he was not desirous of seeing it.

"Now," I again asked, "what do you

think of a Democratic paper endorsing your candidate and advocating his election?"

Then the Kang let the cat out of the bag. The moment you mention votes to a Kang he is a new man; he is then willing to talk business.

"There is no harm in that," he answered. "Supposing the Republicans and Democrats are fighting and one of the old parties endorses a Social Democrat so as to beat the other, is there any harm in that?"

"No harm," I said, "except it shows that the Social Democratic, or Kangaroo party is a football that the old parties can use at any time they wish. I could tell you all about the Social Democratic party, but I have no time."

I left him, thinking of the mental degenerates that speak up for the Kangaroo Social Democracy. I was angry that a Yiddish Kang, who knew me from New York, should try to stuff me, being a Jew myself.

It reminded me of an incident. Some time ago a Chinaman came into the shop where I am working and introduced himself as Jung Bung, the new Chinaman in town, and said that he is a Christian—a member of the church—and also keeps a laundry around the corner. He asked me if I belong to the church. I told him I do not; and before I knew it the wily Chinaman was giving me religions. He threatened me with fire and brimstone and eternal hell. I looked at him, sized him up and said nothing. O, shades of Abraham! I thought to myself: "what! have we come to that—a Chinaman should try to convert a Jew to Christianity?" Yet I was not half as angry as I was at the Yiddish Kang, who wanted to stuff me with Kangaroodom. Chas. Zolot.

Peekskill, N. Y., Aug. 5, 1903.

Good Agitation in Salem, Mass.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Section Salem held its first weekly agitation meeting last Saturday night. Comrade Surridge, of Lynn, addressed an audience of workmen numbering between 200 and 300, who listened attentively from start to finish, and who interrupted the speaker frequently with liberal applause, especially when he referred to the labor fakirs—Mitchell, Gompers, et al.

Sixteen books were sold and quite a number of "The Difference" were distributed. Never to the knowledge of your correspondent were the leaflets so eagerly sought for by the audience as they were at this meeting.

We shall hold another meeting Saturday, August 8, with Comrade R. Murphy, of Lynn, as speaker. J. White.

Salem, Mass., August 5, 1903.

LETTER-BOX

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

J. W., NEW YORK.—The working class does not pay taxes, either direct or indirect. The taxes are paid by the capitalist class, out of the wealth that the working class produces, but is plundered of by the capitalist as "profits."

Apply at the Labor News Co., this building, for the Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan leaflet on Taxation.

C. D. W., NEW YORK.—There is no superstition in the matter. It is an absolute fact that Tammany is not beaten twice in succession. There is more "superstition" about that than in the conduct of a man standing on a hot iron plate and who regularly pulls up one foot and then the other. The masses of the voters feel skinned by Tammany; along come the "reformers" and promise better. They are elected and turn out as bad as Tammany. They then go back to Tammany, which, being "out" makes sweet promises, and is in turn believed. The "superstition" will wear until the Socialist Labor Party mops the earth with these two dromies.

J. A. W., PITTSBURG, PA.—What should an intelligent and honest workingman do in Allegheny Co.? Dead easy.

An intelligent workingman can't be taken in by an "S. L. P. National Executive Committee" with nothing back of it but a few folks in Allegheny Co. He'll know that that's a swindle.

An intelligent workingman, who, as you say, notices that their folks are getting over to the "Socialist" party, will next conclude that, as likes will go to likes, that party is no better than the folks it attracts.

An intelligent workingman reads all sides. So doing he will know that the Socialist Labor Party of America has a Pennsylvania State Committee and a Section in Pittsburgh. If he is honest, besides intelligent, he will join that.

Finally, no intelligent man will whine or be alarmed about "confusion." If he does that he simply places himself at the mercy of the capitalists and their press. They can easily set up and boom bogus Socialist organizations, and create all the confusion they please.

"MILL EMPLOYEE." DETROIT, MICH.—Keep it up. The article is splendid.

E. F., CHICAGO, ILL.—Are you sure you filled up the dashes correctly?

F. H., KANSAS CITY, MO.—When you are told that Wayland gave the plant of his Appeal to Reason to "Socialist movement," ask, "How?" That statement is typically Wylandian. It is meant to catch gudgeons. A thing can not be "given" to a movement without it is given to an organization that represents the movement. Did he give it to the National Committee of his party? Why, it has just snubbed him. As to his getting his salary every week in an envelope, like every other employee, so did Schwab of the Steel Trust get a salary, and yet he is one of the private owners. Find out who owns the stock. There is not one "Socialist" party paper but is private property. For your benefit the career of Wayland will be re-

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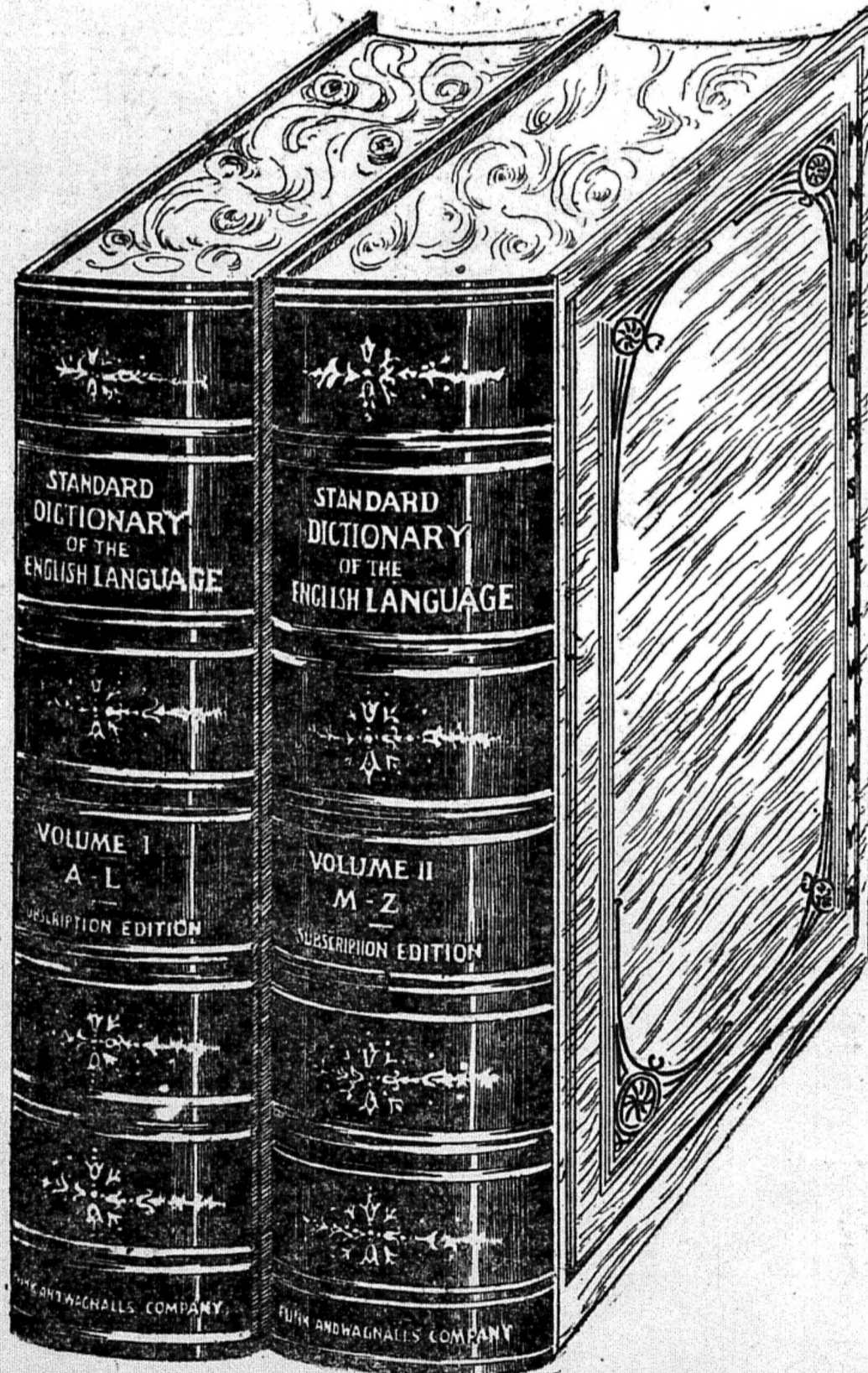
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Total of 1702 Prizes Amounting to \$3000.00
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When sending in Coupons for presents, you can also have same placed to your credit in the above contest, by simply filling in the blank on opposite side.

Coupons are redeemable at all times for presents and after your first redemption you will be given a page number on our books, which we kindly ask you, for your own safety to mention, when sending in Coupons, so as to avoid any errors in placing same to your credit.

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